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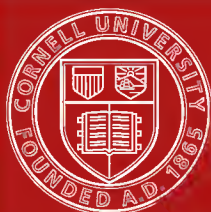
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James Murray

LETTERS OF
JAMES MURRAY
LOYALIST

EDITED BY
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ASSISTED BY
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1901

TO ALL THE DESCENDANTS OF
JAMES MURRAY

PREFACE

LATE in the year 1885 my uncle, James Murray Robbins, died at Brush Hill, Milton, the last of three generations of honorable men who had owned or occupied the estate for many years. His wife, Frances Mary Robbins, was the daughter of Abiel Harris, of Portsmouth, N. H. They lived together most happily, from their marriage in 1834, till Mrs. Robbins's death in 1870, which was a great grief to him. But he continued to live on in the old home with his kindest of sisters, making many friends happy by his large hospitality. He was one of the most companionable of men, delighting nieces, nephews, and young friends with his stories of his own adventures in youth, and his reading and commentaries on what he read. His wife was one of the early Abolitionists and a most earnest advocate of Emancipation. She brought to the house all those she loved best. For Garrison, my uncle had a great reverence and admiration, and for Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, and Maria W. Chapman and her sisters, a warm regard, and they soon became inti-

mate friends, in their devotion to a great cause. My uncle had the warmest sympathy with these friends, but he had not the ardent temperament of his wife, and was, besides, a very hopeful man and a thoughtful reader of both ancient and modern history. And I think he felt in the trend of events almost a certainty that slavery would be at an end, before his own death, and he rejoiced unspeakably that it was so. But I fear slavery would not have ended had all men been as quiet and inert as he was.

Soon after Mr. Robbins's death his executors put into my hands a large box of letters and papers, written either by or to his grandfather, James Murray. They had lain many years untouched in the garret at Brush Hill. Finding that several of the descendants of my great-grandfather would like to know more of him, I began to put the large collection of material in order for examination and selection. Before I had gone far in that work I was compelled by ill health to abandon it. But after a long time of seeking, I found a most competent person in Mrs. Francis B. Tiffany, of St. Paul, Minnesota, to take it up and edit it. She has done her work with great care, and I owe her heartiest thanks for the results. Mrs. Tiffany's previous literary work has qualified her peculiarly to arrange these

scattered and fragmentary materials, and her connecting links and footnotes will do much to explain the sequence of the letters, and sustain the interest by giving them some semblance of a narrative.

The present volume contains only a small portion of the letters which have come down to us through the old Brush Hill garret. The task of selection has not been an easy one. The editors had not the privilege of choosing from a complete correspondence and so making anything like a symmetrical biographical memoir. Letters which must have been written concerning the important events of the Revolutionary war have disappeared; and naturally many of those which have been preserved were of temporary value and significance. The fact that there are but few available documents relating to the Colonial history of North Carolina has led to the inclusion of a larger proportion of the letters from that period of James Murray's life, — not for their intrinsic interest, but as a contribution to the historical material of the time.

The original spelling of these letters has been in most instances carefully reproduced. I remember that some years ago, two friends, gentlemen, were looking over old papers, and one said: "The spelling is so bad, I must think it a sign of illiteracy." "By no means," said the other. "Those

writers happened to live in a period when orthography was optional."

The illustrations given have been collected from various sources. The original Copley portrait of James Murray is now in the possession of Mr. Frank Lyman, but the frontispiece is from a photograph of a copy made by Margaret L. Bush-Brown, which gave a clearer impression and is more suitable for reproduction in photogravure. The portraits of Mrs. Inman and Dorothy Forbes are from photographs of the original Copleys now in the possession of the Revere and Forbes families. I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Bronson Murray, of New York, for the portraits of James Murray's ancestors and of his brother, Dr. John Murray.

A genealogical table is placed in the Appendix, together with a number of miscellaneous documents which seemed relevant and appropriate to the present collection. These consist of a sketch of the Murray family, by Sarah Lydia Howe; a short notice of Robert Bennet (James Murray's maternal grandfather), from Jeffrey's "History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire;" a notice of Dr. John Murray, of Norwich; a letter from Mary Murray concerning the death of her father, Dr. John Murray; a short note concerning Dorothy Murray; and two bonds given by Mrs. Inman to her grand-

nephews, John and Ralph Forbes. The original bonds are now in the possession of Mr. Archibald M. Howe, and seem most characteristic and illustrative of her attractive personality.

I take pleasure in including in the Appendix the biographical sketch of my uncle James by our dear Governor Wolcott, which he wrote for the Historical Society, and told me I might use either in whole or in part, if I would have his permission confirmed by the Society. This I had no difficulty in doing a year before Governor Wolcott died.

I cannot close without warm thanks to my friend, Miss Catharine I. Ireland, for many months of excellent work at verification and selection, and to my kinsman, Mr. Bronson Murray, for much sympathy and valuable information; and also to my cousin, Archibald M. Howe, for his assistance.

SUSAN I. LESLEY.

MILTON, October, 1901.

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LETTERS OF JAMES MURRAY, LOYALIST

CHAPTER I

ON THE SCOTTISH BORDER

1713-1735

AMONG the farms of Roxburghshire, in the valley of the Ewes, a valley which Dorothy Wordsworth characterizes as "unknown to song," but to her "more interesting than Teviot itself," is Unthank, the birthplace and early home of James Murray. Around it, as it lies far up the long deep glen, rise hills, some of them over two thousand feet high, grassy below, feathery with heath at top, and browsed over in the silence and remoteness by numberless sheep. A little ridge on the brae side is all that is left now to show where once stood the house leased by James Murray's father from the Duke of Buccleuch. This ridge, deserted by all save the lambkins which play about under the trees, is protected still by its group of "Scots firs," with reddish brown bark and cone-laden branches, while at the foot of the brae is a small lonely burying-ground

inclosed by a low wall.¹ For any sign of living human presence one must to-day look to a dwelling-house nearer the river's side, built perhaps at the end of the eighteenth century, comfortable and commodious, but not suggestive of the earlier time. The road which runs past this house, following the river and traversing the valley from end to end, was once a traveled route from Harwick to Carlisle, but is now almost deserted except by the shepherds and the few inhabitants of the valley. Unthank Burn, falling into the Ewes upon the east, still further identifies the estate, which, to be more definite, is three miles and a quarter below Moss-paul by river and road, six miles above Langholm.

Yet while geographically Unthank is in Roxburghshire, ecclesiastically it is included in the Dumfriesshire parish of Ewes; and it is to the Ewes parish register that we must look for the records of the births of James's brothers and sisters.² There,

¹ For this description of Unthank we are indebted to a letter written to Mrs. Lesley by Mr. Walter MacLeod.

² Among James Murray's papers is the following memorandum: The Births of the Children of John Murray of Unthank tennant born 4 Feby 1677 by Annie Bennet his wife born Novr 1694, married the 29th day of April 1712.

1. James Murray, born Sunday, Augst 9th, 1713.

2. Archibald, born Friday, April 15th, 1715.

3. Barbara, born Sunday, Feby 3, 1717.

4. Anne, born Friday, Jany 23, 1719.

5. John, born Tuesday, Jany 18, 1721.

6. Andrew, born Jany 3, 1723.

7. William, born Wednesday, Apr. 10th 1724.

8. Elizabeth, born Thursdy, July 7th, 1726.

9. Andrew, born Wednesdy, Apr. 10th, 1728.

UNTHANK



too, the marriage of his father, John Murray of Unthank, to his cousin Anne Bennet, daughter of the Laird of Chesters, is set down, though the more picturesque announcement of marriage intentions, *pro primo, pro secundo, pro tertio*, is in the register of the Bennet's parish of Ancrum.

The name of Murray is a familiar one in Scottish annals. First of the Murrays in our record¹ stands

¹ Line of descent from Archibald de Moravia to John Murray of Bowhill, taken from Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 7th ed., vol. ii. p. 1323.

Archibald de Moravia, mentioned in the chartulary of Newbottle, 1280. In 1296 subscribed the oath of fealty to Edward I., and *d.* in the reign of Robert Bruce, leaving a son and successor,

Roger de Moravia, who obtained, 1321, from James Lord Douglas, . . . a charter, "Terrarum de Fala." . . . Roger *d.* 1330 [earlier editions say 1380]. His great-grandson,

Patrick Murray of Falahill, acquiring land about Philiphaugh, had a charter dated 20 Feb., 1477, . . . was s. by his son,

John Murray of Falahill, . . . the celebrated "Outlaw Murray," who . . . bid defiance to the King of Scotland, James IV. . . .

The Outlaw . . . was s. by his elder son,

James Murray of Falahill, who dying about . . . 1529, was s. by his elder son,

Patrick Murray of Falahill, who obtained under the Great Seal a charter, dated 28 Jan., 1528, "Terrarum de Philiphaugh," and had the heritable sheriffship of Selkirkshire . . . confirmed and ratified to himself and his heirs. . . . *m.* 1st, Margaret Fleming; 2ndly, a dau. of Borthwick; 3rdly, Elizabeth Ormiston, widow. . . . *d.* 1580, leaving his grandson (the son of James the younger, of Falahill) his heir.

Patrick Murray of Falahill, *m.* 1st, Agnes, dau. of Sir Andrew Murray of Black Barony; and 2ndly, Marian, dau. of Sir Lewis Belendon. By his first wife he had . . .

Sir John Murray, Knt., of Philiphaugh [*d.* 1640]. He *m.* 1st, Janet, dan. of Sir William Scott of Ardross, and had by her . . .

Sir James Murray, knighted by Charles I., *m.* 1st, Anne, dau. of Sir Lewis Craig of Riccartoun, and, dying before his father, left . . .

Sir John Murray (successor to his grandfather) . . . *m.* 1st, Anne,

Archibald of Moravia, mentioned in the chartulary of Newbottle (1280), and presumably of the Morays, Lords of Bothwell. He, by a marriage with a daughter of Sir David Olifard, came into considerable possessions in the County of Selkirk. In 1296 he swore fealty to Edward I., but he lived to see Robert Bruce king of Scotland. Archibald's son, Roger, obtained, in 1321, from James Lord Douglas, superior of his lands, a charter, "Terrarum de Fala." He resided at Falahill, and for many years that estate furnished their chief title to his descendants. Among these, coming down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, was John Murray of Falahill.

dau. of Sir Archibald Douglas of Cavers, . . . and had six sons and four daughters : I. James (Sir) his heir ; II. John, of Bowhill, one of the Senators of the College of Justice ; III. William, a colonel in the army ; I. Anne, *m.* 1st, Alexander Pringle of Whitebank, and 2ndly, Robert Rutherford of Bowland ; II. Janet ; III. Rachel ; IV. Elizabeth. Sir John Murray *m.* 2ndly, Margaret, dau. of Sir John Scott of Scotstarvit, and had by her an only daughter, Jean, who *d.* young. He *d.* 1676.

With John Murray of Bowhill, second son of the above Sir John Murray, begins the cadet branch of the family, leading to James Murray, Loyalist. The descent is as follows :—

John Murray of Bowhill.

John Murray of Unthank.

James,	Dr. John	Barbara.	Elizabeth.	William.
"Loyalist."	of Norwich.			

The statement that John of Unthank was a son of John of Bowhill is in accordance with family tradition. It "is so stated," says Mr. Bronson Murray, "in the tree made for my father (in 1842 ?) by a member of the English family."

The genealogical table in the appendix, prepared by Mr. Archibald M. Howe, contains additional information.

It is this John Murray of Falahill who especially challenges attention as "The Outlaw." His is a figure which looms up vague but heroic in the background of border history, and attains to immortality in the ballad known as "The Sang of the Outlaw Murray." Whether he is a definite Murray of the time of James IV., or several Murrays merged in one half-legendary being, is little to the purpose. In history he may or may not have done all the deeds attributed to him; in minstrelsy he was a man of gigantic stature, who "laid the country lee" with his great club, maintained a proud state in the isolation of the forest, scorning both court and king, and defied the messengers of James when they claimed the forest lands as possessions of the crown, but yielded fealty at last, upon condition of obtaining from the king the sheriffship of the lands in Ettrick Forest.¹ With the dwellers along Tweed or Yarrow, poetry-loving folk whose border ballads

¹ The lands of Ettrick Forest were part of the jointure of James's queen. The High Sheriffship of Ettrick Forest or Selkirkshire was not lost with the passing of the Outlaw. His grandson, Patrick Murray of Falahill, who died in 1580, had the office confirmed to himself and his heirs. It remained a Murray inheritance until the time of the Sir John Murray, Knight, of Philiphaugh, who died in 1676. He, it seems, sold the inherited right to the king. Even after that transaction, however, the office was bestowed on members of the family, for in October, 1681, "the Council (Privy) found that Philiphaugh (Sir James Murray, b. 1655) had malversed, and been remiss in punishing conventicles, and therefore they simply deprived him of his right of Sheriffship of Selkirk — it not being heritable, but bought by King Charles from his father — and declared it was devolved in the King's hands to give it to any other." Craig-Brown, *Hist. of Selkirkshire*, vol. ii. p. 345.

had turned their very rivers to poems and their fields to history, merely to say Ettrick Forest was to call out memories of a common nursery-lore and common ancestry, and among these people the "Sang of the Outlaw" was an especial favorite. Professor Child, who gives it a place in his collection of English and Scottish ballads, grants it indeed scant praise. But Sir Walter Scott, who first came across an incomplete version of it among the papers of Mrs. Cockburn, and afterwards printed it with additional stanzas collected from various sources and inserted by him where he thought they properly belonged, accords it high merit.

The roll of the Outlaw's lands falls imposingly from his lips : —

"Fair Philiphaugh is mine by right,
And Lewinshope still mine shall be ;
Newark, Foulshiells, and Tinnies baith,
My bow and arrow purchased me.

"And I have native steeds to me,
The Newark Lee and Hanginshaw ;
I have mony steeds in the forest schaw,
But them by name I dinna know."

Philiphaugh, first in the Outlaw's roll, is, as Scott portrays it, a plain about a mile and a half in length and a quarter of a mile broad, surrounded on three sides by hills, while its fourth side borders the Ettrick River, just opposite the high bank of Selkirk. The plain is famous as the battle-ground upon

¹ Scott made Newark Castle the scene where "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" is recited. Its ruins were just outside the park of Bowhill. Scott, *Poetical Works*, Edin., 1833, vol. vi. p. 44.

which the Covenanters checked Montrose, marching to the aid of Charles I. A fatal spot it was for the fortunes of the English monarch, and one which is the subject of another ballad in "Scottish Minstrelsy." Eventually Philiphaugh gave its name to the more modern seat of the Murrays and to the head of the family. Sir John Murray, who sat in Parliament for the County of Selkirk in 1612, was the first designated as "of Philiphaugh." James, oldest son of this Philiphaugh, was knighted by Charles I., and sacrificed one of his sons in the service of the king. Sir James died before his father, and the title and lands of Philiphaugh descended in 1640 to his son, a second Sir John, who was the father of six sons and five daughters. The Murrays of Philiphaugh are traced quite down to modern times by Burke in his "Landed Gentry." But our interest leaves the main line and Philiphaugh with Sir John's second son, John Murray of Bowhill. This John Murray was the father of John Murray of Unthank, born in 1677, who in turn was the father of the James Murray whose letters are printed here.

John Murray of Unthank is described by his second son, Dr. John Murray of Norwich, as "a man who, by a peculiar fortitude of mind, a steady resolution, an unshaken virtue, an uncommon sagacity and successful industry, not only surmounted every difficulty, but endeared his name and raised his credit in the neighborhood where he lived." At Unthank he devoted himself to the care of his es-

tate and to the education of his sons. Scattered at longer or shorter distances from Unthank, throughout the neighboring counties, were a score of Scottish households whose inmates were directly related to him or connected with him by marriage. Stewarts, Grahams, Pringles, Murrays, Bennets, Kerrs, Scotts, and others had quarreled and married, thriven and multiplied, until the population had become one vast cousinship, bound together by that clannish loyalty which, quite apart from pride of name, is ineradicable in the Scots to the present day. Chesters,¹ an estate on the Teviot, six miles from Ancrum, had for several generations been possessed by the Bennets, James Murray's maternal ancestors. Robert Bennet, James Murray's great-grandfather, had been a staunch Covenanter, persecuted for twenty years or more for his Presbyterianism. His history was one long tale of fines and imprisonments, for no sooner was he at liberty than he involved himself in fresh difficulties by attending field conventicles, or by harboring the covenanting preachers in his house. John Murray of Unthank, on the other hand, was by inheritance an adherent of the Established Church.

Born at Unthank, on Sunday, August 9, 1713, James Murray passed the first fifteen years of his life after the wholesome manner of Scottish lads, porridge-fed, bare-legged, — he protested in after

¹ Chesters was sold about the close of the eighteenth century by the three sisters of Robert Bennet, the last of that name, to the family of Ogilvie.



JOHN MURRAY OF BOWHILL

years against his grandson's wearing stockings,—and straitly bred in hardihood and industry. He idolized his father and took eagerly his instruction, which was apparently all the book learning the boy had. It included French and something of English literature, sufficient Latin to furnish occasional refreshment and solace throughout the rest of his life, and enough of mathematics to enable him to begin a mercantile apprenticeship in London when thrown out upon the world. With his mother's people at Chesters, including his cousins Anne, Jean, Andrew, Robert, and Barbara, he was intimate. A kindly intercourse, also, was kept up between him and the Philiphaugh cousins at Hangingshaw, of whom, from one or two allusions in the letters, it appears that his favorite was Mary, afterward married to Sir Alexander Don of Newton. In February, 1728, when the father was fifty-one years of age and the son fifteen, John Murray died, leaving his widow and four younger children, Barbara, John, William, and Elizabeth, to the care of James. The little family remained at Unthank for four years more, James supplying as well as he could the place of his father, until, in 1732, the lease of the farm, as well as the personal property connected with the estate, were taken off their hands by Robert Elliott and Walter Scott.¹ Even then, Mrs. Murray and the children remained at Unthank, but James, who was by this time nineteen years of age, left them to be

¹ Sir Walter's uncle, James Murray's cousin. His father and James Murray's father married Bennet sisters.

fitted for business. Through the influence of Sir John Murray of Philiphaugh, who, acting with Andrew Bennet, was one of Mrs. Murray's advisers, he was apprenticed to William Dunbar, a merchant of London, in the West India trade. In London the lad was an inmate of Mr. Dunbar's family, and for eighteen months after the apprenticeship was over he remained with him. Of his earlier experiences in business he wrote to his uncle, Sir John Murray of Philiphaugh:—

(London, May 25, 1732.) "There is a ship just come from Antigua of which my Master is husband, and he has given me so much to manage it and to show me the method."

(Dec. 12, 1732.) "I have shipt by my master's direction a parcell of coarse Dutch linnens consigned to his correspondend^t in Antigua, the amount whereof will be about £100."

And to his uncle, Andrew Bennet of Chesters:—

(Oct. 6, 1732.) "I send by the Unity, John Finlason for Leith, . . . a Hamper containing two dozen of rum, one dozen of which (being part of my first fruits in trade) must beg your acceptance of, and please send half a dozen to my mother & the other half dozen you may either present to Baillie Jeardon on Johnny's acct or some little thing instead of it & keep it. They call it good here & say it only wants age."

Although separated from his mother and his brothers and sisters, their affairs continued to receive his anxious care.



JOHN MURRAY OF PHILIPHAUGH

JAMES MURRAY TO ANDREW BENNET.

LONDON, Augst 5th, 1732.

Since my last of the 4th ult^o I have had no occasion to write you, and this serves to acquaint you that I continue in health to like my business, etc.

I am very glad to find by a letter from my Mother that she enjoys health & is pleased with her new way. I hope your advise and the children's benefit will induce her to a town life next year; but, be that as it will, the children must be qualified for business, since it is by it that the lads in particular must earn their bread, & you are very sensible that they had much better bestow what they have upon the knowledge of some handsome Employment than have the one and want the other. But both is best, and I shall do my outmost to preserve them their patrimoney intire to begin the world with. Therefore I thought it not amiss to write you the following proposal viz.

To continue Johny at school since he likes his book & is endowed with a tolerable good genius, I am advised by very sufficient Judge; that when he has been two or three more years at School, if he Inclines (& his friends think proper), to bind him to a Surgeon apothecary in Edinb^r for five years, & when he has had further practice either in the hospitals here or abroad he has a very good chance of handsome bread almost anywhere in a genteel way, and it does not require a stock to begin with. But his own Avent cannot defray this charge. Neither do I suppose my Mother can easily afford him

so much. Therefore I propose to supply what his own Avent comes short of keeping him at school and during his apprenticeship, for which I hope my Mother will not think unreasonable to give her Obligation to pay me whatever I lay out upon that accot at her death, or else to defray the Charges of their Education and take my Obligation at my death. This proposal may perhaps look out of the way, but sure I am it is made with no other Intent but as the best and most equal way of serving the children without prejudicing my Mother and with as little harm to myself as in duty to them I can contrive, and at the same time as much as my circumstances can well admit of; for God only knows how matters may turn. . . .

I have got other 7 new ruffled shirts cost £4 & a suit of clothes for Sundays cost £5, 10. The former I have paid myself, the later my Master will advance for me, and since I have a little money for my pocket you need not remit me any until further advice.

That article of cloaths will make me go beyond my bounds this year, having all to provide and obliged to go genteel. As for my pocket money, it is but a trifle, for I keep little or no company, having enough of business to divert me and no more.

To his sister Barbara, then just at the tempestuous and headstrong age of sixteen, he wrote gentle brotherly letters, having indeed more sympathy than blame for her not unnatural difficulties of temperament and temper.

JAMES MURRAY TO BARBARA MURRAY.

LOND^o Octo^r the 1st, 1733.

D^a SISTER BABIE, — This comes with a set of Spectators than which I could not think of anything more useful as well as diverting for you, altho before you are perfectly acquaint with them you may think otherwise.

I earnestly recommend them to your reading and acceptance from your Lo Bro.

JAMES MURRAY TO BARBARA MURRAY.

LONDON 18th Oct^r, 1734.

D^a SISTER, — With my last to you about this time 12 month I sent you a Sett of Spectators, and with this you have a silver thimble, which tho' a trifle in comparison with the other you must not slight, as the tender of affection is the same in both, for I do assure you I am and always shall be very anxious about your welfare, & I think you are to blame for not writing me ever since I have been here. How you have been & how you [are] employed.

If you cannot write yourself, you might have got somebody to write for you, tho' I would rather have it of your own if it was the worse. Whatever you do let me advise you to do it with humility, & be ready to take advice of others, especially those of more experience than yourself, for following one's own will against reason, or in other words a perverse obstinacy, generally ends in confusion. Be not fond of appearing in finer cloaths than your fortune will allow, but what are suitable to your station wear

neat and clean. Above all the love of God & religion without bigotry, and obliging behavior to the world in general, & to our Parents, and other relations & Masters in Part are to be required as carrying with them present as well as future happiness. . . . I am with sincerity

Your very affec Bro^r.

“Let me know,” he wrote in April, 1733, to his uncle, Chesters, “whether my Mother stays in Unthank or not. I am afraid (for all her seeming pleased in her letters to me) that she has but very indifferent accommodation there. I wish, if it is so she could be better put up altho at more charge. I would be very willing to contribute to that and forwarding the children’s education all I can rather than she should undergo any hardships, or they be lost, when it is in my power to help it, for I am resolved as it is my duty (so far as I am able) to serve her as long as she lives; and them till they are in a capacity of Serving themselves, and then if they are not willing let them see to it.”

And again in the following month: —

“If my Mother would be persuaded to go to a town where the children might be educated, I think she and they might live pretty easily upon the whole. . . . And if what I have said is not encouragement to go to a town, and what she has met with not encouragement enough to leave Unthank, I do not know what to say next. It galls me mightily to think that she should have been in a manner driven

to such methods as otherwise she would have hated by being abused even in that place where not long ago she had everything at command. . . . I think it will come better from you in my behalf if you will be so kind as to mention it to her in your own way. . . . I incline to say as little and do as much to serve her, &c., as I can, but I make an exception to this last rule with you, since it is necessary you should know my mind about it, which I cannot well tell you in fewer words."

Very shrewdly, finding that other means of effecting the removal failed, James next appealed to the parson. His letter to the Rev. Robert Malcolm is noticeable for the frank and Catholic spirit which it displays: respect is paid to the dissenting pastor, but his own stand as a member of the established church is firmly maintained. He says:—

"As we have been often the better for your advice I make bold once more to be troublesome to you. You cannot but know that our quitting the farm has made it very inconvenient for my Mother to live in Unthank . . . She has been often desired to go to a town. . . . I know your advice will have a good deal of influence with her, therefore beg your endeavors when you go that way. I have sent you a book by the Kendal Carrier . . . of which I beg your acceptance. It contains 16 sermons by Foster, one of the foremost of our non-subscribing Dissenters. I believe on the whole it will please you, tho in some things not agreeable to our established opinions."

Thus urged on all sides, Mrs. Murray removed in July, 1734, to Hawick, not far from Unthank, where she remained until she died.

The share of his father's estate inherited by James amounted to one thousand pounds. Portions of this small patrimony, as has been seen, he was allowed to use in modest ventures of his own to Antigua and elsewhere; but they did not meet with any very notable success, and the young man determined to try his fortunes in the New World. Grave and discreet beyond his years, already he had in several instances undertaken to be responsible for the welfare of others. Sons of Mr. Rutherford and of Mr. Jordan, as well as of his uncle Bennet, had been sent to London to be under his care, and had been placed by him in situations, and faithfully befriended. It was scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that his new plans included provisions for a number of other people. Two sons of Mr. Ellison were to go with him, not to mention ten or twelve mechanics, engaged for five or seven years, and a Scotch domestic, and he even went so far as to undertake the charge of his sister Barbara, only eighteen years of age,¹ and of his cousin, Jean Kerr.

The objective point for these young adventurers was the Cape Fear region in North Carolina. The Carolinas, having shaken off the proprietary rule, were now entering, it was hoped, upon a more prosperous period as dependencies of the crown. Of the northern colony, after the quarrelsome rule

¹ James himself in 1735 was only twenty-two.

of Burrington, Gabriel Johnston had recently been appointed governor. Johnston was a Scotchman, who had been a physician and a professor at St. Andrews University, and who afterwards in London had mingled more or less in politics. Spencer Compton, Baron of Wilmington, had been influential in securing his nomination. North Carolina affairs were thus making some stir in Scottish circles, a fact which directed James Murray's desires to this particular colony. To Governor Johnston he had secured letters of recommendation. His friends, Mr. Tullideph, referred to in the next communication to his uncle, and Mr. Ellison, contemplated taking up lands in the Cape Fear region, and had commissioned him to select them. On his own account he was prepared to make similar investments, from which he sanguinely anticipated speedy and large returns; while with an eye to the immediate future he laid in a stock of merchandise.

His enumeration of his reasons for venturing upon this untried course carries with it a conviction of his firmness of purpose, and its confident tone must have beguiled the Laird of Chesters into equally hopeful assent.

JAMES MURRAY TO ANDREW BENNET.

LONDON 13 May 1735.

. . . The small encouragement that I have to stay here and not so much as the prospect of doing better has determined me to accept of the first good opportunity to push my fortune in any other part of

the world ; which I told a particular friend of mine here. . . . He has since had Letters from the Governor of North Carolina (with whom he is very intimate) acquainting him of the growing State of that province and of his intention to remove his court to part of it where there is a fine navigable river lying in a convenient place for trade call'd Cape Fare River. There I intend to go some time in August next. I am not able in the compass of a letter to give you all the reasons for such a choice, but for your satisfaction shall give you a few of the most material.

1. It is a climate as healthy as England.
2. It is cheaper living there than anywhere in Scotland.
3. Land which may now be bought there for 1^l or 18^s acre will in all probability double the value every year, the place growing daily more populous as the Land Lower down in that River has already done. This determines me to go so soon as August, that I may be there and purchase about one thousand acres before it is known that the Governor intends to remove thither.
4. I am sure of the Governor's interest to support me.
5. My own fortune is sufficient both to buy a handsome plantation and carry on as large a trade as I have occasion for ; the profits of which I may expect will at least defray the charges of settling me the first two years and afterwards lay up £200 sterling pr. An.

6. The place by its situation is entirely out of the power of a foreign enemy, which is no small advantage in these uncertain times.

7. I have the advantage of two faithful correspondents, Gentⁿ of Substance and Experience, one in England¹ and another in the West Indies,² who are willing to join Interests with me so far as our little trade requires it. . . . All the merchants that I have talked to that have any knowledge of these parts say it is the best thing that I can do ; but, truly, My good friend and Master, who knows little or nothing of the plan, from an excess of Zeal, either for my interest or his own or perhaps both, is vastly out of humour about it and says it is a surprise upon him what he did not expect, as I seemed satisfied with the offers he made me before I went to Scotland, tho' I said not a word to them either pro or con, I thought them so small, — not that I had any intention to leave him.

Through the summer his preparations were made and his farewells taken. On September 20, 1735, with his goods and his charges, he embarked at Gravesend in the ship Catherine, Captain Fay, for the port of Charleston.

¹ Mr. Ellison.

² Mr. Tullideph.

CHAPTER II

A PIONEER PLANTER IN NORTH CAROLINA

1735-1763

ON November 27, 1735, James Murray and his little company, after a good voyage of nine weeks and four days, landed safely in Charleston. "From hence," he wrote two days later to his cousin, John Murray, the son and afterwards the successor of Sir John of Philiphaugh, "I shall in about ten days proceed to Cape Fear." "If I may judge from ye short trial I have had of this country," he adds, "I think it is a very agreeable one, particularly at this season, and ye people seem very friendly among themselves and kind to strangers."

His reception "by Mr. Grimke and others" in Charleston was cordial. Indeed, the Charleston men, in their efforts to detain him in South Carolina, did not stop at mere cordiality. They united in abusing the Cape Fear country. Some of the newcomers were dissuaded by their bad accounts from journeying further. "The Dutch people that came over with us," runs one of Mr. Murray's letters, "stayed in South Carolina, being deterred from proceeding by misrepresentations. . . . From this you may see ye risk of losing people that are sent that

way. I was almost in doubt myself . . . from the strange stories they told me."

With the last day of the old year, however, he was off for the land of doubtful promise, and in due time reached, not, indeed, his final destination, which was New Town, alias "New Liverpool" and afterwards Wilmington, but its rival, Brunswick. The old proprietary divisions of North Carolina were fast disappearing. At this date the province was divided into two counties, Albemarle and Bath, which in turn were subdivided into precincts. From the precincts were sent the popular representatives, who formed the Assembly's Lower House, a body usually at sword's points with the governor, whoever he might be, and supported or opposed, as the wind shifted, by the Upper House, or Council, as well as by the principal officeholders, namely, the surveyor-general, the receiver-general and attorney-general, and the secretary of the province. In the precinct of New Hanover in Bath were these two small settlements of New Town and Brunswick, both on the Cape Fear River and both struggling for supremacy. Brunswick had been commended to the former governor as a settlement deserving advancement, but Johnston, who paid as little heed to the wishes of popular factions as did his predecessors, favored New Town.

In Brunswick were the Moores, Maurice, George, and Roger, grandsons of Sir John Yeamans. To the Cape Fear lands, which their grandfather had "first settled and afterward abandoned," the brothers

had come from South Carolina, and by long residence and many services had acquired leadership in the little community. Maurice Moore had won fame in the Indian wars of the past. He had also gained popularity in the never-ceasing strife between the people and the governors. It was he who, with Edward Moseley, had gone in 1718 to Edenton, and taken forcible possession of all the papers in the office of the secretary of the province, a high-handed measure which, in spite of his consequent arrest and fine, in no wise lowered him in public esteem, for the people had had need of men of this kind, to hold overbearing officials in check. Moseley, on his part, was for years before and after this episode Speaker of the Lower House.

James Murray, entering provincial life as a thorough-going conservative and friend of Johnston, could scarcely be expected to fall into easy relations with the governor's natural enemies. Almost at the outset he clashed with the Moores. From Roger he rented a vacant house, and in it took up his first abode, displaying to the Brunswick folk his London wares, and feeling that he had gained a foothold on the new soil. But his political tendencies and affiliations put a too great strain upon the relations of landlord and tenant, and within a year Roger gave him notice to "turn out."

The stock, meanwhile, sold at a good advance, with the exception of a supply of wigs, which met with no market. The utter lack of civilization indicated by the small demand for this commodity struck

painfully a youth accustomed to the niceties of Scottish gentility. He excused it to his friends on the valid ground that since there was no court here there was no occasion for ceremonious dressing. Even after sixteen years had passed he wrote to his London wigmaker: "We deal so much in caps in this country that we are almost as careless of the furniture of the outside as of the inside of our heads. I have had but one wig since the last I had of you, and yours has outworn et. Now I am near out, you may make me another good grisel Bob."¹

Indeed, the unkempt population with its rough and ready ways disappointed and disgusted him from many points of view. The country itself, he declared, was well enough, but of the people of North Carolina he had not much more good to report than had others of their critics in the early days. Their faults revolted him, their virtues he was not prepared to understand. *Bona terra, mala gens* was at that time his verdict.

With Governor Johnston, on the other hand, he was in accord. His letters to the Governor had procured him an invitation to Eden House, the mansion on Salmon Creek, across the bay from Edenton, inherited by Penelope Johnston, the Governor's wife, from her father, Governor Eden. This visit established cordial relations, and resulted in his being asked to join the Governor in an exploring expedition up the Cape Fear. As he had been commissioned to select lands for Mr. Tullideph and Mr.

¹ Letter to Wm. Guyther, March 20, 1752.

Ellison in this region, the invitation was opportune.

The young man's care of Mr. Ellison's sons is only one illustration out of many of the willingness with which he undertook the charge of those who had any claim on his good offices. In this case his pains came to naught, for William died in North Carolina not many years after his arrival, and Andrew returned to England.

JAMES MURRAY TO WILLIAM ELLISON

BRUNSWICK, 14th Feb^r, 1735/6.

DEAR SIR — . . . We sail'd from Charles town the last day of Dec^r, & came over the bar of Cape Fear the 2^d day of Jan^r & camp'd ashore all night by a good fire in y^e woods. Next day we got up to this town. I intended to have gone up to New town, Alias New Liverpool, but was told there was no house there to be had except I built one; so was oblig'd to bring all ashore here, where I have got a good convenient house¹ on rent, which I shall keep until I can purchase a few slaves & a plantation in the country where I can have all kind of provisions of my own raising. Here I am oblig'd to pay no less than 17 to 20/ P bushel, this money, for corn, & 10, 12 & 14^d P lb. for meat. I am told this place is every bit as healthy as New town. There is a great emulation between the two towns, but I intend to concern my self with neither, but throw my self easily out of trade into y^e plantation.

¹ Roger Moore's.

As to your son William I have the pleasure of giving you a just & good Acco^t of his behavior, which has been very discreet & sober ever since he left you. While at Charlestown he lodg'd & boarded in y^e same house with us, & as soon as my house here was fitt'd up he stay'd with me till we went up to y^e Gov^{rs}, & there I left him to come down to court with his Excellency next week. The only fault that I & every body else has to him is, that he has not pick't up a common (much less a lawyer's) assurance, yet, the want of which I tell him will be a vast loss to him. . . .

I have supply'd William with what money he want'd & shall continue so to do as he has occasion for it; but if you send him a fresh supply, it must be in some thing else than wigs, for I have not been able to sell one of them, tho' I open'd them both in Charles town & here.

When I was at Brompton I took an opportunity to mention your land to y^e Gov^r. He said you should have it, but added this question, "what could you do with it?" For he did not believe your son understood how to manage it. I answered that tho' he did not I had another of your sons who would probably learn something of husbandry before his time was out with me, & for him it would be a good beginning, tho' you had not determin'd [on] whom to settle it. As I go up y^e North east with y^e Gov^r, shall see your land & M^r Tullideph's laid out in y^e best place I can. I have not yet determin'd whether to take any for my self. Sterling are not nor will

for some time be easy to discharge by people that have their effects here. Land is easier to be purchas'd here for Currency than bills on England. . . .

You are mistaken. We are not depriv'd of the advantages of y^e gospell preach'd, for we have y^e best minister that I have heard in America to preach & read prayers to us every 2^d or 3^d sunday at least, & in a cold day a good fire in y^e church¹ to sit by. In these & many other respects this town is preferable to New town, & yet I believe the last will be first in a little time. We have had a great deal of snow & cold weather since we came here.

I shall deliver William his indentures, & put him in mind to look out for his 50 acres. If he can find land, he may have 10 times that quantity; if not, he will get none that is worth while, nor no body else, for people that are acquaint with y^e country only know where y^e vacant land is, so they get a warrant survey & patents & then screw as much as they can from a stranger for it, who in his turn serves others the same way.

¹ As to church services, it may be said that ever since the Bishop of London had, in 1725, extended his jurisdiction to the American colonies, churches or chapels had been established in the different counties; but to get and keep a reputable minister had been, as late as 1731, a difficult matter. In that year Governor Burrington wrote, in his address to the Duke of Newcastle, "This country has no orthodox minister legally settled; those that formerly have been here generally proved so very bad that they gave people offence by their vicious lives."

JAMES MURRAY TO DAVID TULLIDEPH.

BRUNSWICK, 31 March, 1636.

DEAR SIR, — Since my last of y^e 21 Ult^o have been up y^e North East branch of this river about 180 miles from y^e mouth of it. We found a little difficulty in getting up & down, with our Canoes which were deep loaded, by reason of logs lying across; but where y^e river was clear we had 6 foot water as far as we went & an easy current. There is not such a Quantity of land in any part of this country yet discov'd so good as y^t that lyes on the head of y^e North East & black river, whose branches enterlock one another, which is y^e centre of y^e province, & in all probability will far exceed any part of it were there but industrious people enough to inhabit it. But notwithstanding all I have said & a great deal more I could say in praise of it y^e Gov^r thinks it will not be for your interest to take up any land here unless you come to live on it yourself, & indeed I am of y^e same opinion, for I observe this country even exceeds all ever I heard of y^e West Indies for bad Attorneys & overseers. If it was in my way to overlook your plantation, you might expect to be better serv'd; but I do not intend to take up any land within 100 miles of it for some time, till I see how it is like to be inhabit'd & improv'd, & I am afraid you will get none to live in such an out of y^e way place as it will be for some time that will be strictly honest to you, & you are oblig'd to clear about 60 acres of your 2000 within 3 years after you are possess'd of it or else your right lapses. . . .

The burden laid upon trade by the inflated currency and by the almost prohibitive restrictions imposed by Virginia and other colonies hastened Mr. Murray in his purchase of land. On a plantation he could at least raise food, which was scarce and high, and becoming more so through an increase in the number of mouths to be fed ; for within a year of his arrival came the advance guard of a great influx of Irish and Swiss Protestants. These emigrants, seeking homes in North Carolina, were many of them sent or brought over by Murray's friend and correspondent, Henry McCulloh, a Scotchman who later came to Cape Fear as "His Majesty's Surveyor, Inspector and Controller of the Revenue and Grants of Land." ¹

JAMES MURRAY TO DAVID TULLIDEPH.

NEWTON, Jan^y 10th, 1736/7.

. . . I can write you nothing Entertaining from this, but from the number of the Irish and Swiss that are soon expected here some of us imagine the prosperity of the country and happiness of its in-

¹ Williamson says, in his *History of North Carolina*, that McCulloh "speculated largely in crown lands with a view of paying for them by importing settlers," and that his 'son, Henry Eustace McCulloh, "reported between three and four hundred persons thus brought into the Provinces."

In the *Life and Letters of James Iredell*, McCulloh is described as having been "cherished by his friends with affection and regard." The same book says, further, that he impaired his large fortune by furnishing means to his immigrants, but that his son, who was apparently a man of a very different stamp, succeeded in making good his claim to about sixty-four thousand acres of land. Henry McCulloh was an uncle of James Iredell.

habitants in general to be at hand. Others are in dread and confusion, fearing an end will be put to their Lording it over the King's heritage.¹

When I first came in ² I rented a house of Roger Moore's, to whom my behaviour and intimacy with some gentleman was so disagreeable that he told me to turn out before I had been $\frac{3}{4}$ of a year in the house. Then I bought a house and lot in this town where I now live, and immediately after purchased a plantation within fifteen miles of about 500 acres. The one cost me £1000 and the other 500£, this Currency. With both I am very well satisfied, and since I cannot make remittances to carry on trade I intend to turn planter as soon as possible.

Through Mr. McCulloh Mr. Murray set in motion an application for the position of collector of the port, an appointment which in 1739 he received. As a matter of course, since the time was the reign of George II., when bribery in matters of this sort had not yet fallen into disrepute, he expected to pay a reasonable amount for the appointment. The reasonable amount, £200 in the following letter, shrinks to one half that sum in the next, in view of "ye precariousness of ye post and ye uncertainty of people's lives in this country."³ Commenting upon

¹ This is an allusion, of course, to the Moores.

² To the Cape Fear region.

³ ". . . Many have I seen since I have been here, hearty & Gay & Brisk one week & the next attended to the grave. This is a dismal climate & when one gets sickly here I have hardly ever known an instance of his recovering." Macdowell, in *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. vi. p. 977.

this application, he wrote on the same day to Mr. Ellison: "You'll hear from Mr. McCulloh of a chimerical scheme of mine in behalf of your son and myself. I call it chimerical because it is putting in for a living man's post who must first be dead, and it is a court preferment, which implys more uncertainty than the other."

JAMES MURRAY TO HENRY MCCULLOH.

BRUNSWICK, May 3, 1736.

Since my last of y^e 24th Feb^{ry} I Have not had an opportunity of writing you, for just before I came down from y^e North East Cap^t Keit sail'd. I then promis'd you an Acco^t of our expedition, but must defer it till I have time to write our Journal out fair, which will send you by a vessel that will sail hence in a little time. Y^e people here have got y^e South Carolina notion that they are not oblig'd to pay residing merchants for their goods in less than a twelve month, so that I shall hardly be able to remitt any thing this year. Indeed it will not be much to my loss, for their only staple commodities, Viz. pitch, tar & turpentine are as dear here as I imagine they will be cheap at home; & if I delay till next crop I may come in for a little rice, of which there is only 500 barrels made on this river this year, & next crop we expect 1500 or 2000 barrels. I was up at Brompton last week, where I saw y^e Gov^r & Cap^t Woodard in good health. Y^e last has had a gentle fit of y^e gout since he came from y^e north East, but that expedition was of service to his

Excellency's health, & Cap^t Innes,¹ & I grew fat upon it. My business at Brompton was to advise about y^e employment of M^r Tullideph's negroes, which he intends to send in very soon, for whom have come to a resolution (if my instructions will permitt) to get a plantation within y^e settlement there, to employ them untill y^e rich land is settled by some familys from Ireland. Now I have mention'd the Irish I cannot help giving you an instance how much some gentlemen here endeavour to defeat all y^e Gov^{rs} Designs for settling y^e country. Roger Moore I am told has wrote to M^r Dobbs that it will not be his interest to concern himself in land here or something to y^t purpose. His view in which is that if y^e Irish came over here they will be a weight against him in y^e Assembly & will by Cultivating y^e land confirm M^r Dobbs right to what he would be content to take y^e advantage of a lapse of, in case a new Gov^r should be appoint'd, which all y^e blank patent gentry are in great hopes of. M^r Solivol has been lately appointed Collector & searcher of this port, who is just a dying of a dropsy. If that could be got either for Mr. Ellison or me, or both, one to be principal & y^e other deputy, you would do us a particular piece of service. There is £65 P^r Ann Sterling Sallery beside fees here, which may amount to near 100 P^r Ann in all. What money you may have occasion to apply in presents, not exceeding £200, shall be faithfully paid you as soon as possible, & if y^e Comission is in my name

¹ James Innes, afterwards Colonel Innes.

your security shall be reliev'd by gentlemen of substance either here or in Scotland, & if M^r Ellison will go half y^e charges and use his interest to obtain it I oblige my self to make his son William Deputy & give him half y^e fees & half y^e sterling sallary. I do not expect I have any friends but you two in town at y^e season this will reach you to apply to. . . .

The "blank patent gentry," alluded to in the preceding letter, are, again, the Moores and their friends. The term probably arose during the altercation between Johnston and the holders of certain grants of land made by former governors. During the Proprietary rule patents for North Carolina lands were kept on hand in the secretary's office ready for use. These patents were made out in due form, but with the grantees' names, the number of acres, the description of the lands, and the sums to be paid left blank, to be disposed of and filled up "just as the Lords Proprietors thought fit." Even before the Proprietary rule came to an end governors were forbidden to make any more grants of land, but several did in fact use the blank patents long after the land office was closed, and in some instances after the king had taken the province into his own hands. Governor Johnston early came into conflict with those who held land under these patents, the invalidity of which he dwelt upon with insistence, and a bitter quarrel ensued.¹

Mr. Murray's letters naturally present the Gov-

¹ See *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. iv. p. v.

ernor's side in these disputes, which derive their main interest from the fact that they were early examples of the long struggle between English authority and American self-rule.

JAMES MURRAY TO HENRY McCULLOH.

3 1/2 p.m. 1
BRUNSWICK, CAPE FEAR. July 8th, 1736.

Since my last I have your favour dated y^e 12th March, with a very agreeable postscript which I should be very glad to see accomplish'd, for if things in this country are not in a better situation during Mr Johnstons Governm^t, I shall almost despair of it.

By a vessel which will sail directly to your port, in about 3 weeks, I intend to send you a cask of skins which is all y^e remittance I have got out of £4800 Currency, value of goods sold since my arrival, I do not reckon Cash, of which I have receiv'd about £900, a Remittance. I have more than half my goods yet on hand, which are no pain to me, as none of them are perishable but some cloath & stockings which I can easily take care of. As y^e most necessary things sell first, y^e remainder of my cargoe will want an assortment to help it of, which should have desir'd you to send, according to y^e list annex'd, had I been able to clear old scores with you. Instead of that I have laid a new demand on you, in y^e affair of y^e Collector. If you have not, before this reaches you, made some advances in that affair, I desire you would not expend above one hundred pounds about it. That, on second thoughts, I think is enough, considering y^e precariousness of

y^e post & y^e uncertainty of people's lives in this country. If you do succeed in that affair at a considerable expence, & if my bill on M^r Dunbar is not honour'd, I desire you will not send y^e goods mention'd. If otherwise, I leave it to you, to send them or not as you find convenient. I intend as soon as I can secure enough of Such tar & Turpentine to send for a vessel from New England¹ and load her to send home to you.

NEWTON, Nov. 6, 1736.

. . . Last week I was up the North East to the lower part of your land setting the Carpenter to work to finish two houses there (I mean at Camp Innes) for the reception of the Swiss Mess^{rs} Hutchinson & Grinkie have sent in.² They were here about 3 days, during which time his Excell^y our good Gov^r took a great deal of pains to provide for them & to assure them they should have every thing to their satisfaction till they were settled. With which they went up last Tuesday very well pleased. . . . Since I last wrote you have bought a house & lot in this town & a plantation in the country about 15 miles from this, joining on Cap^t Rowan, 200 acres of the 500 land as good as his that he values at 20/Ste^r P acre. The other 300 acres are fit for build-

¹ This illustrates the backwardness of North Carolina in possessing means of transportation.

² "There are now forty Swiss people," Mr. Murray wrote in this month to Andrew Bennet, "the beginning of six thousand contracted for from that country, which, with a great number of Irish expected next year, will raise our country in a hurry."

ing on & for corn & pasture. It cost me about £30 Ster, as I sold my goods, but when I shall turn planter God knows. It will not be till I can turn some Money out of the country to buy some negroes. But first I ought to be even in your books, for if trade is not grown much worse at home I am sensible you must be a looser by mine & every other debt that you get no more than 5 P C by Par. I wish I could write you something agreeable of the country or rather the present set of inhabitants, for the place it self is well enough were it peopled by frugal, honest, industrious people who would not sacrifice the general good of the province for the obtaining their own private ends or would not be so stupid as to be led by the nose by those that would. Then I might say without the spirit of prophecy that this Province would soon be one of the best in America. . . .

Meantime the growth of Newtown had begun. James Innes, like Mr. Murray, was one of the earliest settlers of the town.

JAMES MURRAY TO HENRY McCULLOH.

NEWTON, Jan^y 10th, 1736/7.

. . . Your Swiss families are very well, but lost one their men in a fever at Brunswick & another old man since they went up. I have agreed for Indian corn at 12/, pease at 20/, & potatoes at 7/6 P bushell, enough to serve them till next crop. Indian corn is since risen to 15/ & is like to go to 20/. Rice

at £4 Pl & hardly to be had. The Swiss have been very uneasy, for their land not being run out by reason of the only surveyor that could do it his being gone into the other county where he was detained by an illness; but now he is returned, and will settle their bounds next week.

We are very upish upon Cap^t Woodard, M^r Johnston, Cap^t Rowan and Cap^t Innes each of them purchasing a good lot in this town, which thrives a pace.

The pioneer's descent, however, from great expectations to the bed-rock of reality was being made by Mr. Murray even while he noted the country's growth. He felt strongly the peculiar disadvantages from which North Carolina suffered.

JAMES MURRAY TO JOHN MURRAY.¹

NEWTON, CAPE FEAR, Jan^y 10th 1736/7.

M^R JOHN MURRAY

Hon^d Sir, — It is no small comfort to me to find by yours of the 14th June & other letters that I am not yet forgot by my best friends, tho' in this remote corner of the world, and that they have a just opinion of my concern for them by giving me an Acco^t of their welfare & other occurrences, than which nothing can be more agreeable.

I wish I could give you equal satisfaction by my letters, but alas it is not to be expected from a new country such as this where you know no body,

¹ A son of John Murray of Philiphaugh.

whence we can write of nothing so well as the inconveniencies we suffer in reality for the advantages we form to our selves in imagination ; and was I to undertake to give you a description of the place, it would only be darkening instead of enlivening your Idea of the continent. I shall therefore confine my self to answer your questions, what trade have we & what is my scheme of settlement. . . . As the present staple commodities are very low in Europe, European goods are very high here and our payments, being slow and but in small quantities at a time, will not defray the charge of a freight from Britain. We therefore send our peddling to some or other of the neighbouring colonies, for which we have European or other goods at their price, and the necessity of our country obliges them to give almost what advance the importer pleases on the goods he thus buys at second hand. We have £150,000 of bills emitted by the publick, which are current in all payments, and the King takes them for his quitrents at the rate of 7 for 1 Ster^s, but the merchant has for his goods from 12 to 20 for 1 Ster^s. These bills are lent out upon good security at 6 PC^t P. añ which interest with an impost on liquors is allotted to the sinking of the principal, and so long as this Gov^r is continued he is resolved to observe that act & to grant no more bills for Currency till the present by it's scarceness comes to its true value of 7 for 1. Thereby he and all the king's officers who are paid their sallaries here at that rate will receive the worth of them ; thereby the merchant who sells his goods

at the present prices and has his debts outstanding with 10 pC^t P. ^{an} accrewing on them will be a great gainer. The Merchant has another chance of turning his cargoe to a good account. He sells his goods at a high price for the reason above observed. The country in a year or two is well settled by Irish and Swiss, who in a year or two more make such commodities as are valuable at home and enrich the country here. Now for what I am to do in the mean time. I have sold about 2/3 of my cargo, for which we have got a pretty large sum of our Currency in debts outstanding and in bills received. Was I to press speedy remittances, it would be very much to my disadvantage. I have provided my self with a plantation in the country within Fifteen miles of the place which in all probability will be the principal town on this river, if not the Metropolis of the province, that I intend to settle as soon as I can get Negroes. Then I shall live very well upon my own industry and save the interest of my stock. For all my complaints a man with a moderate fortune & tolerable management may live very happily and plentifully here. I cannot say he has it in his power to make a great fortune at once.

Barbara Murray married, in less than two years after coming over, Thomas Clark, a young man thoroughly liked by her brother and associated with him in his public and private interests. In the same summer (1737) Mr. Murray received news of the death of his mother, which left the younger chil-

dren still more dependent on his care. This necessitated a journey to Scotland, which he accomplished in the ensuing spring. The settling of Mrs. Murray's estate and other matters detained him for nearly a year, during which time he was much at Chesters and renewed his intimacy with his Bennet cousins, particularly with Barbara. On returning to America he brought with him his younger brother and sister, William, sixteen, and Elizabeth, not quite fourteen, years of age. Elizabeth proved so capable that she was before long installed as James's housekeeper, and thus began that affectionate intimacy between them that was perhaps the most vital and enduring element in the life of each.

A portion of the small inheritance left to William and Elizabeth he now invested in negroes.¹ For himself, although the disadvantage of trade had been strongly impressed upon him, he had been unable to resist the temptation of bringing over a cargo of goods even larger than his former venture, as the succeeding letter to his brother-in-law relates.

JAMES MURRAY TO THOMAS CLARK.

LONDON, 23 Decemb^r, 1738.

. . . In my last I told you of my brother & Sister's intention to go over with me, who are now here for that purpose. I said also that nothing was coming to you from my mother's Estate. Have

¹ Negroes, since the very earliest days of the country, when slaves worked under Sir John Yeamans, in the Cape Fear settlement, had proved the speediest means of gaining wealth.

notwithstanding got £20 st^r for you there, which is as much as the two younger childring have got.

You 'll be surprised when I tell you that, instead of my Scheme of retired life, am going to involve myself in the Cape Fear trade deeper than my self or any of my predecessors or contemporaries have done hitherto, & am now fitting out a Cargo of above £1500 st^r to begin with, & have charter'd a ship to load derectly back with such Commodities as can be got. If our Gentlemen Planters have a mind to set their trade on the footing of South Carolina now they 'll have a fair opportunity. If I find they are not ready & willing to encourage it, especially in the loading of this ship, I shall set down my little family with you & go away without breaking bulk to South Carolina or Georgia, for my cargo is suited for either of these places, & shall come back with the refuse of my cargo (if any), for which I shall expect 2 & 3000 P Cent, as other people as well as I used (& I presume still continue) to sell for. Let them pay when they will. But I hope this will not be the case & that every body who do's not want to enrich themselves by the ruin of the Planters & Country in General will encourage so Laudable a design & will be as ready to pay me their Commodities in merch^table order as I shall be to sell them goods useful, fresh & reasonable as they can wish. At all Hazards you may fit up my store in the same manner as M^r Drys with all possible dispatch, that is the whole 22 foot by 18 on the east end of the house to be lined with boards

on the side & plastered on the siling, to be shelved as far as the door from the east end, & counter from side to side with a board to fold down in the middle. I hope the cellar is done under neath, and the sashes according to the dementions I sent you by Wimble ready to put in the glass. Let sashes be done for all the windows in the store, and a door for the store cellar. I am affraid I have shaped you more work than you 'll sew till I see you, but you 'll do all you can. Give notice of my intentions to leave this the middle of next month with a Vessel and Cargo bound dèrement to you-ward, that those that owe me as well as those that do not may have their goods ready. Great encouragement will be given to rice & tar chused in full bound barrells, turpentine & pitch as usual. I have bespoke a petty auger from South Carolina, which at all events cannot miss to sell if not wanted by me. You need put yo^r self to no inconveniences about moving from my house in a hurry, for I shall have none but my brother & Sister & one, two or three more in my family, for whom there will be room enough with you for a while.

I have also sent their money in value to south Carolina in order to buy negroes for them, most part of which I design to be under your management.

M^r Douglass has taken the same method with his in order to sit down in a plantation. So, whether I shall be the better for the Country or not, it is plain the country will be the better for me, &, I

hope, so will my friends for being recommended thither. . . .

Mr. Murray had by this time, aided by absence and his natural tolerance, come to wish to be on a friendlier footing with his Cape Fear neighbors. He wrote to John Porter¹ from London, Dec. 20, 1738: —

“I have observed (in you) a justness of thought and generosity of temper that I would endeavor to imitate wherever I found it. If some gentlemen of our acquaintance had with the same good nature overlooked a zeal (perhaps a little imprudent) for one's friends I should have had more friends in Cape Fear, but as it is, I am sensible there is and will subsist a Dryness between some certain Gentlemen and me until the unhappy Differences of the Province are reconciled.”

Early in the summer of 1739 he was again in North Carolina, having brought with him John Rutherford, who afterward became receiver-general of the province.

JAMES MURRAY TO JAMES RUTHERFORD.

Cape Fear, Sep^r 4, 1739.

That I may be as Good or Rather as troublesom as I promised in Writing you once in 3 Months, take this for my first, which happens to be about that time Since my Arrival.

After our Departure from England I expected to

¹ Of Newtown.

See Cousin John Very Sea Sick, but instead of y^t. He was y^e only person of all the Cabin Passengers that was not Sea Sick, & took a most compassionate Care of us in our Distress. That he might not Be Idle in his Passage I Set him to . . . [a] Book of practical Geometry, in which he took Much Delight & Made Great Proficiency for y^e time. Since my Arrival my head has been so much taken up with Business that I cannot go on with him; but when he is not imployed in y^e Store he applies to it himself, [so] that with mine or Some other's help next winter I doubt not of his being able to apply Mathematicks to most of y^e Common Occasions for them in life, particularly Surveying & Gauging, two usefull Sorts with us. Delivering out Goods, Writing in y^e Waste Books & copying Letters is his Cheif imployment at present. I am now got to Sep^r the 6th, & pretty well recovered of what I thought a Severe fit of the Rheumatism, which has laid me up ever Since I wrote y^e forgoing & makes me Glad now to walk with Stilts, what I was never used to before. If you have a Mind to Send any wearing apperel or linnen, y^e most useful Article to Johny, you may Ship it & Send y^e Receipt to M^r Henry Houson Merchant in London, who will forward what you Send. If you chuse to Send any thing for Sale, Scots plad about 18^d or 20^d p^r Ell, brown Linnen from 3^d to 18^d p^r Ell, Coarse & Midling Diaper, these fit for y^e Summer & Winter. Galacheils Gray at 6^d or 7^d p^r Ell to be here in Sep^r or October for Winter only. What you buy

by y^e Scots Ell, let it be measured by an exact 3 foot allowing a thumb, & y^t Measure put on y^e Piece. As I am an Invalid & have other letters to write yet, I must not Delay. We are in Hopes this war will Drive some of y^e Southern Settlements to us. 'T is a Bad wind blows no Body Good.

The Spanish War, alluded to in the last letter, presented to William an opening for a military career. North Carolina had raised four companies for General Oglethorpe's expedition against St. Augustine. That expedition having failed, the North Carolina contingent was to be sent to join the English forces at Jamaica, and with it were to go Captain James Innes, Mr. Murray's "most intimate friend next to T. Clark," and also two cousins of the Murrays, Lieutenant Archibald Douglas and Lieutenant Pringle. William was, in his brother's opinion, unfitted for a planter's life. On the other hand, his inheritance was sufficient to procure him a commission, and an opportunity was now offered to enter the army under Captain Innes's special care. At Jamaica, moreover, he would find his brother John, graduated from his "studies of pharmacy and surgery," and appointed surgeon's mate on board the *Tilbury*, English man-of-war. So, with all these advantages on his side, and further fortified by a letter to John Stuart, Aide-de-camp to Lord Cathcart, William set out for the war.

JAMES MURRAY TO CAPT. JAMES INNES.

WILMINGTON, 20th Nov^r, 1740.

DR. SR. . . . My brother John, Surgeon's mate on board the Tilbury man of War, I have desired to apply to you, as well for advice as for some money, if you find it will be of service to him, either to promote him, preserve or Recover his health, or to supply him with necessarys and a little pocket money if his pay is not sufficient. I desire you may inquire how much of his own Money he has taken up, and how he has Managed it, that you may the better judge of his economy. You'll likewise supply my brother Billie with what you think necessary. I leave him intirely to your care, hoping also that his cousins the Lieutenants will be kind to him.

It is out of my power to give a Greater instance of my confidence in and good opinion of you than I have done by sending him along with you. I do hereby empower you to engage as far as his (Billy's) whole fortune which is one hundred pounds Sterling, in buying a commission, Land, or Negroes or anything Else that you think will be for his Advantage, and He approves of it.

JAMES MURRAY TO JOHN MURRAY.

To M^r John Murray, Surgeon's Mate On board the Tilbury Man of War, at Jamaica or Elsewhere, P^r William Murray.

CAPE FEAR, November 13th, 1740.

DEAR JOHN : . . . As this goes with your brother William, I have the less Occassion to be particular in anything that relates to us here. I have only to

desire that in Case he should be sick you will take all possible Care of him. If you Should have any emergent occasion for Money either to forward your promotion or recover your health, I have desired Cap^t Innes to advance you Some. It will require much of your Care and Attention to chuse Your Company — Men of Sense, Sobriety and Good Manners — to avoid the Extravagance of many, but not to be so very frugal as to keep no Company at all. Cap^t Innes, I hope, will take notice of you, and is very able (as I know by Experience) to give you good advice. I have some thoughts of Going home next Spring, but that resolution will take Effect or not according to the letters I shall receive from thence. I am

Dear John
your most affectionate Brother

JAMES MURRAY TO MRS. BENNET OF CHESTERS.

CAPE FEAR, Sept^r 1740.

. . . It would be too tiresome to you to be troubled with a Repetition of the several Particulars in Your Letter, how much some of them pleased me. You, who know me and my Affection for my friends, may easier Imagine than I can Express. And if others Gave an Account of Accidents and Ommissions that are not so Agreeable, it is what I lay my Acc^t with to hear in almost every Letter; for if the Accidents in human Life are by a wise providence for good purposes interlarded with bitter and Sweet, Letters will bring acc^t of these Accidents just

as they turn out. But to return to my letter. In my last to my uncle I wrote of the Scituation of my Affairs here and that I was winding up my bottom as fast I Could, with an Intent to go home next Spring if some persons with whom my Cheif business is will take the trouble to advise that it is proper ; but I have much to Complain of the Laziness of Some Correspondents.

Your letter to Betty gave great joy. She is now my only Housekeeper and entered that Station the beginning of this week just after my return from the north. You have long ago heard the News of my Sister Clark having a son. I have only to tell you that he lately entered the Christian list by the Name of James. Cap^t James Innes and I were his God-Fathers.

I wrote my Uncle that M^r Douglass was to go Lieutenant to Cap^t Innes. Since that M^r William Pringle, Clifton's Son, happened to be one of the four Lieutenants appointed at home for this Province that Came to Edenton while I was there. I brought him along with me a Journey of 200 Miles in five days. He is now in My house and is to be Cap^t Innes Eldest Lieutenant. They seem to think themselves very happy in each other. . . .

[Nov. 26th.] Tempted with the promise of care from my friends Innes, Pringle and Douglas, I have sent my brother Will along with them. They are but just put to Sea with Letters of Marque, and to make the best of their Way to Jamaica, Where they expect to meet the English forces as well as those of Amer-

ica, all under the Command of My Lord Cathcart. I have sent about £80 St^r. value along with them and Impowered Capt Innes to spare it to John and William as he should find they stood in need of it. I likewise Impowered Cap^t Innes to draw for Will's patrimony if he could lay it out for his advantage.

When the rest of the Gentlemen going hence on the Expedition were making their Wills Billy also made his at my request and left all he has to my sister Betty & when he gave her the paper and told her what it was the tears run down her Cheeks like hail. I must not omit to tell what they alledge of Mr. Douglass at signing his Will. He first signed a power of Attorney with his usual ease, but when he came to sign the Will his hand shook terribly, So that he was Obligated to take it twice off before he Could finish his Name; and when he had done, he said, "I hope never to live to put that Will in force for all this." He could hardly stand this joke. Mr. Pringle by his good natured agreeable way of Disciplining the Company and in his Conversation and behavior in General gave great Satisfaction to Cap^t Innes, to the soldiers and everybody else; and it gave me Sensible pleasure that I was the Cause of his being allotted to Cap^t Innes. . . . Had I been certain of such good Officers, I would readily have persuaded Billy to accept of the Gov^rs kind offer of a Pr. of Collours but by the time we had Determined on it the Gov^r had filled up all the Commissions he had. So far we were unlucky. . . . A ship had lately arrived after a long passage

from London which brings some Goods for John Rutherford. . . .

JAMES MURRAY TO ANDREW BENNET.

WILMINGTON, CAPE FEAR, 5th September, 1741.

DEAR SIR, — I have a long time Denied my self the pleasure of writing to you having still had some hopes of hearing from some of my friends at Chesters by every opportunity. I know not how I have Deserved it, but I never had such Signs of being forgotten or out of favour there.¹ But enough of this. Since my friend M^r M^cCulloch's Arrival in this Province with his family he has been an Inhabitant of my house in this town, which made it necessary for me to Discard all my own family but Johny Rutherford & a Couple of Negroes. Betsy therefore Stays with M^r Clark, as does Jeany Ker. The former has now a little of the fever & Ague. My Sister Clark about 3 weeks ago was Delivered of another Son² and is bravely Recovered. The Lad promises to be as pretty & thriving a boy as the other,³ which is saying a great Deal. M^r Clark has been Sheriff of this County ever Since June Last and is to Continue in that Office (worth about £100 Ster P Ann) for two years. He has also had the good fortune to be Appointed Collector of this Port in the Room of Samuel Woodward Dece'd by M^r Dinwiddie, the Surveyor Gen^l of this Continent, but for want of friends & interest with the

¹ His cousin Barbara was evidently a poor correspondent.

² Thomas.

³ James.

Ministry at home Dispairs of holding it Longer than another is Appointed & sent over by the Lords of the Treasury. That office is also well worth £100 a Year, attended with little trouble, & Generally Continues during Life.

I have Letters from Jamaica of the 15th June which inform me that Jack & Willy were well, as also M^r Douglass and Cap^t Innes, but that M^r Pringle was Shott before Bocha Chica on board the Prince Frederick, Lard Awbery Commo^r, who was also Killed Next Day. M^r D. & Will had the good Luck to be on a Cruise at the time of that unsuccessful Siege and to take Some Valuable prizes, from which M^r D. expects £300 & Will £20 to his Share ; but no Doubt you have heard particularly from them. I am tired of Deferring my Voyage any Longer and am Risolved to Depart from this with Johny Rutherfordd some time next month. If it please God to give us a prosperous Voyage, I may have the Pleasure of Eating my Christmass Dinner with you.

Since I begun this Letter 5 days have Elapsed in which time I have taken my Passage & Cousin John's on board the Leathly, Peter Harrison Comm^r, for London ; and that we May have Some Money to Spend Among the Spaniards in Case we Should be Nabb'd by them I have by this Opportunity ordered £500 Ste^r insurance against Capture i. e. 300 £ for Self & 200 £ for Cousin John.

Pray give my Sincere Duty to My Aunt and my Love to My Cousins. My Compliments also if you

please to My friends in Your Neighbourhood. I
am D^r S^r your most obliged &
most Dutifull Nephew

J M

Betsy is Recovered of the
Fever & Ague

Mr. Murray remained in England and Scotland until the latter part of 1742, busy with various commercial affairs of himself and his friends in North Carolina. A promise from his cousin Barbara was obtained during his stay, and when he came back to Cape Fear, which he did in February, 1743, it was in the hope of a speedy return to Scotland for the marriage.

Mr. Murray, as has been said, was appointed collector of the port in 1739. At about that time New Town, the village where he lived, was made the port of entry, to the great detriment of Brunswick, which had formerly been the port. This was a grievance to which the opposing faction could not submit in silence. A slight skirmish of letters between Roger Moore and Mr. Murray was but the prelude to a complaint in the form of a memorial to the Board of Trade, signed by Nath. Rice, Eleazer Allen, E. Moseley, and R. Moore.

JAMES MURRAY TO ROGER MOORE.

Newto 24th Nov^r 1739.

SIR, I received your Letter Desiring me as Deputy Naval Officer to Come down to Brunswick

to Clear out the Henry & Mary of Hull — I am to inform You that his Excellency has Appointed me principal Naval Officer of this port. With Orders to reside here: And He bids me tell you, that if you think either his Majesties Revenue or the interest of the County is injured thereby: You may Represent it to the Lords of the Treasury or to y^e Com^{rs} of the Customs Who No Doubt will give proper Orders thereupon

I am

Sir your Very humble Serv^t

Soon after this episode, Mr. Murray was drawn into political life by Governor Johnston, who, in February of that year, secured his appointment as a member of the Board of Councilors.¹ The appointment was not, judging from the two ensuing letters, especially desired by Mr. Murray, but rather brought about by the Governor's need of his coöperation.

The quit-rent law, to which the first of these letters refers, was passed before Mr. Murray entered the Council. Governor Johnston, who was first and foremost a faithful servant to the king, reported that the law would raise the revenue to be derived from the province by the crown from nothing at all to £1800 a year, and added as a secondary consideration that it would "bring peace and tranquillity to a colony which had from its first settlement been quarreling about the points now so happily adjusted." He shared the common view of the

¹ Mr. Murray was then twenty-seven years of age.

time in looking upon the province merely as a means of procuring revenue for the mother country.

The collecting of the quit-rents was, as he said, a matter in which the people had long been successful in baffling their governors. They would not, and probably could not, pay in gold or silver, or even in paper currency, their proper dues, but were found year after year "insisting on paying their rents in the worst and most bulky kind of their produce, such as butter, cheese, feathers, tar, pitch, Indian corn, &c." These commodities, moreover, the people maintained, must be fetched by government if they were to be obtained at all, as they had not means of transportation. The result was that the rents usually went unpaid.

Johnston's quit-rent law limited the commodities to inspected tobacco, hemp, flax, and beeswax, which, moreover, were to be rated so much under their real value that transportation would be covered by the gain in selling them abroad, while no planter would give the preference to payment in commodities if he could possibly lay hold of currency for his rents.

As to the value of the currency itself, the relation between the bills of the province and sterling and proclamation money was to be settled yearly by the principal persons of the government.

The law also touched upon the disputed point of the blank patents. By it such patents as were registered in due time and ascertained were confirmed, provided that their aggregate amount did not exceed 150,000 acres ; but those that bore a date subsequent

to the purchase by the crown were left entirely to his majesty's pleasure "either to allow them or to declare them null and void."

JAMES MURRAY TO HENRY McCULLOH.

CAPE FEAR, 30 Jan'y, 1739/40.

. . . As to Publick Affairs I wrote you in My last that since the Reconcilement Occasioned by the Quit Rent Law M^r Allen Had Joined the family,¹ who thereby had got a Majority in Council & were like to Carry things in an Arbitrary and Selfish Way, for Which Reason I proposed to You the taking out my Mandamus, and Charge the fees to Me. But Since that the Govern^r has had a letter from the Board of Trade Wherein they inform him that his Majesty has been Graciously Pleased to Appoint Me a Member of his Council here, Which Will be a Sufficient Warrant for the Gov^r to Call me to My place if he finds his Majes^{ys} And the Countrys Service Absolutely require it. Till then I Do not Desire it. So you'll take Care Not to Advance any More Money on that Acc^t than what I have Already paid the Board of Trade. The Effects of the Quit Rent Law, beside What I have Mention^d, are that it has Made the Gov^r Independent either of Mosely, Moore &c, whom we call the fam-

¹ A term of derision possibly dating from the time when Maurice Moore and others, in a document setting forth the claims for consideration possessed by these holders of the blank patents, stated that there were "twelve thousand persons in their families" and in families of those under their care. *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. xviii. p. 310.

ily, or of the Northern Men; and his Conduct even Since the Quitrent Law has been Approved by both Sides and by the Country in General. The Only thing the People Complain of is that by the clause in the Q. R. L. for Valuing y^e Currency We are now to Pay our Quit-rents at ten Currency for one Sterling, whereas before We Grumbled at 7 for one . . .

I hear Mr. Roger Moore alledges that he has an old patent (which is now confirmed by the Q. R. L.) that he Says is Within your 72,000 acres; and sometimes he says it is Within the Bounds of y^r Land Sold Vaughan. You'll Observe a Clause in the Quit Rent Law that all Disputes between Proprietors' Patents and those lately issued are Determinable by the Gov^r in Council, who I hope will take Care that no injury be done to you.

The removal from Brunswick of the port of entry was only the forerunner of a yet greater blow to the family. The Governor's account of the doings of the General Assembly of February reads very smoothly, — "Our Assembly, which met here on the fifth of February, 1740, is just now prorogued. They behaved with decency and parted in very good humor (a thing not very common here) after passing some Laws. At present I shall only take notice of one, which is an Act to erect a Village called Newtown on the Cape Fear River, into a township by the name of Wilmington. . . . The town is at the meeting of the two great branches

of the Cape Fear River, its road capable of receiving vessels of great burthen. . . . I always looked upon the want of a Town with a Convenient Port as one of the greatest Obstacles to the Improvement of the Trade of the Country and the polishing its inhabitants. I return your Lordship's thanks for recommending Mr. Murray."

As a matter of fact it was a time of storms, at least in the Council. The favoring of Newtown and giving it, as the township of Wilmington, the dignity of one of the chief places in the province, could not have been done at that time had not the Governor been able to call Mr. Murray to a seat in the Council;¹ even then it was only accomplished by

¹ "At a Council held at Newbern 18th February, 1739/40.

Present his Excellency the Governour

The Honorable	{	W ^m Smith	Math Rowan	} Esq ^r
		Nath Rice	Edw ^d Moseley	
		Rob ^t Halton	Roger Moore	
			Eleaz ^r Allen	
				Members of His Majesty's Council.

His Excellency the Governour was pleased to acquaint this Board that he had received a letter from Right Honorable the Lords of Trade and Plantations Signifying that he had been graciously pleased to approve of his recommendation of Mr Murray for a Councillor of this Province in the room of Mr Porter deceased, which the Governour ordered to be read . . .

WHITEHALL, Sept. 12th, 1739.

SIR, — . . . In compliance with your request of the 8th of Feby. 1737/8 we have recommended Mr Murray to . . . his Majesty for a Councillor in the room of Mr Porter deceased and his Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of him accordingly. . . .

M. BLADEN.
JA. BRUDENELL.
R. PLUMER.

. . . And the said Mr Murray, being called to the Board and ac-

what was virtually a tie vote, made decisive by the eldest councilor's casting a second ballot in addition to his first. This the opposing party insisted was illegal, but the Governor gave it his sanction. The four members who had voted against the measure were the former memorialists, Rice, Moore, Allen, and Moseley. They sent in a protest to the Governor, which was answered, as follows, by the other four who had favored it, Wm. Smith, Robert Halton, Mathew Rowan, and James Murray : —

“As their [the protestants'] tedious account of the casting vote is but a second edition of their Protest given at Newtown a little improved in stile and virulence since their arrival at Cape Fear, a few words will serve as an answer to it. We were then and are still of Opinion that in case of an equality of Votes there must be a decisive Vote in the first Person in the Commission, and this we take to be warranted by the practice of several corporations and societies at Home ; and if ever it was necessary or allowable, We do conceive it to be so in this case, for as the Council has seldom or never consisted of above eight persons with such a vote it would be in the power of four persons to stop all manner of business and put a negative upon Governor's Council and House of Burgesses, and this we look upon as an absurdity which can never take

quainted therewith took and subscribed the several oaths by law appointed to be taken for the qualification of Public Officers also to execute said Office Faithfully.” *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. iv. pp. 444, 445.

place in any Constitution founded on that of Great Britain."

Mr. Saunders¹ characterizes Johnston's acceptance of this casting vote as arbitrary and unjust. The above answer, which bears some marks of Mr. Murray's pen, must stand as the Governor's defense.

Mr. Murray's own account of these matters is as follows: —

JAMES MURRAY TO — [PROBABLY MR. HOUSTON].
CAPE FEAR, 25th March, 1740.

DEAR SIR, — This waits on you with Copy of my last of the 30th Jan^{ry}. Since that time the assembly met at New Berne where our Southern gentlemen (viz. Mr Moore and friends) expected to carry everything before them and aimed at no less than turning out Chief Justice Smith and putting a tool of their own in his place. To effect this they exhibited articles against him in the Lower House, which for want of proof were then dismissed without ever being bro^t up to the Gov^r in Council who was to have tried him. This being over and the Governor finding the house of burgesses disposed to do business, but being apprehensive of a stop being put to everything in the Council that was not every way agreeable to the —, who had the majority in Council by reason of Coll^o Pollock's absence, he sent for me and swore me in by virtue of the Lords of Trades Let^r. Then the assembly proceeded to business and passed several laws, one

¹ Editor of the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*.

of which establishē Newton a town by the name of Wilmington with Privilege of Sending a Member to the Assembly &c. I refer you to the Copy of the acct which is enclosed. The other three acts are for directing the method of proving book debts, for allowing wages to the Members of both Houses viz: 40/ to one and 30/ a day to the other during their Sitting, and appointing John Hodgson speaker of the Lower house publick Treasurer for Albemarle. It was also resolved by both Houses of Assembly that the families lately arrived from North Britain and settled in the Neighborhood of your Lands on the North West branch of Cape Fear River should be exempted from all taxes for ten years, next after their arrival and that all protestant families that shall come from Europe to settle in this province provided their number at setting out be above forty shall in like manner be exempted from all taxes for ten years next after their arrival. The assembly was prorogued to Edenton there to be held on the 2d Tuesday of November next. And the Gov^r Intends to hold the assemblies after that at Edenton and Wilmington by turns. The Court of Chancery is appointed to be held here twice a year.

The law for this town passing in the council only by the President's casting vote, there being four for and four against the bill, the Moores think they have thereby a good handle to get a law Repealed at home that affects them so much here. I think I may Venture to say that it is for your Interest to

Support that law and get it confirmed if Possible. Captain Woodward it will also oblige, who had much rather live here than at Brunswick. He is very much indisposed, and has been this long time with the Gout.

As to Remittances, I shall be able to do something from my old debts when the receiver general returns from the Collection of the Quit Rents at the norward, and as soon as I have a ship load of either Tar or Pitch or part of both with some Rice ready shall send for a vessel to South Carolina or Boston, let the freight be what it will. While the Export of this River continues in the hands it is in at present, I expect to meet with all the Disappointment they can give. They have already show'd me in several instances what they are capable of doing. But I shall be able within a twelve month to overcome all the hindrance they can give me so far as to satisfy those concerned with me. And what injury they can do to my private fortune I had and will much rather put up with than basely truckle to a set of men whose doings are in my opinion so far from being justifiable. . . .

I have for some months been Naval Officer of this Port at Request and for the benefit of my Brother Clark who formerly executed that office and who will take it into his hands again as soon as he is superseded by a Collector from home for the Port of Bath, whom he expected long ere now. As soon as the Gov^r returns from the Norward so that he (Mr. Clark) can send him his accots attested I shall

have a sterling bill of at least forty pounds from him.

The advantage I have by the naval office is that it brings a great deal of ready money into my hands.

A year later Mr. Murray bore testimony in a letter to Mr. McCulloh, then newly arrived in America, as to the relations between Johnston and the people in general.

JAMES MURRAY TO HENRY MCCULLOH.

WILMINGTON, CAPE FEAR, 12th April, 1741.

I had the pleasure to Receive the agreeable News of your Safe arrival by your letters of the 4th & 7th March while I was at Edenton, on which I heartily Congratulate you, M^{rs} M^cCulloch and family. . . . I Returned here on friday last after having seen a period to a long session of Assembly at Edenton where a good deal of business has been done. I delivered the letters you inclosed me to the Governor, who has published the instructions relating to the Land Office by proclamation, and that relating to the reducing of our Money to Procl. Standard was not thought Necessary to be made publick. Nor Could he Conveniently promulgate the other instructions &c. till the Sitting of next Council here on the third tuesday of May, and it is hoped you will be very Cautious in making any declarations about them that will reach this place before the end of May. . . . There has been some debate in Council how My Lord Carteret is to be P^d his eight part of

the Quit Rents, whither out of the Gross or Neat Produce; but they would not take upon y^m to determine the same, but left the Receiver General to do as he pleased. No doubt you are informed how My Lord receives his share in So. Carolina & how he ought to Receive it here.

The Collection of the Quit Rents for this Year and for all Arrears will as much as possible be endeavoured to be Compleated before the latter end of May. The Officers have Reced so little of these 4 or 5 years Salary that they would be very much Straitened without it. As to the Disputes of this province, they are not between the people in General and the Governor, for they are very well satisfied with him, but there are a certain set of Men in this Province who are never to be Satisfied, if they have not the Cheif Management of Affairs. As you may meet with some of this Complexion before I have the pleasure of Seeing you I depend so much upon my knowledge of you and on your knowledge of their Characters that I am Certain a Caution of incredulity and reservedness untill you have been sometime in the Country would be altogether needless.

If this finds you in S^o Carolina I would advise M^rs M^cCulloch rather to put up with the inconveniences of this place than to trust her self this summer in so sickly and Mortal a place as S^o Carolina. It is thought this place is rather cooler than any to the Nor^{ard} in the Settlements of this province by reason of y^e constant breeze —

Mr. McCulloh, on his arrival at Cape Fear, occupied Mr. Murray's house, availing himself of the offer contained in the following letter. The difficulties of the journey in those days, so cheerfully minimized by Mr. Murray, are apt to be forgotten unless brought to mind by some such evidence as this.

JAMES MURRAY TO HENRY MCCULLOH.

WILMINGTON, 11th May, 1741.

. . . I am sorry that Affairs of any kind should detain you so long in Charlestown particularly at this season of the year. I should think it much the easiest way for M^{rs} M^cCulloh and you too to come by water. If the risque of being taken at sea is apprehended to be great, the coming within land to Winyan [Winyah] and thence up Wackaman [Wacamaw] to within 5 miles of the widow Master's I am told is very practicable and will shorten the Journey to three very easy days riding. You may have as many horses as you please sent to any place at or on this side Winyan on 5 or 6 days notice before the time they'll be wanted. . . .

In my house there is a large Room 22 by 16 feet, the most airy of any in the Country, two tolerable lodging rooms & a Closet up stairs & Garrets above, a Cellar below divided into a Kitchen with an oven and a Store for Liquors, provisions, &c. This makes one half of my house. The other, placed on the east end, is the Store Cellar below, the Store and Counting House on the first floor, & above it is

partition'd off into four rooms, but this end is not plaster'd but only done with rough boards. Of this house you may have as much as you please, for I can send my Apprentice & little Sister, who are all the family (beside Serv^{ts}) that I have now to take care of, I say I can send them or at least her to my Brother Clark's. You'll find here the best water in either of the Provinces, & you'll generally be well supplied with fish only by one hand or two employ'd that way. We are also much better Situated for having supplies from the Country. But without a Cook wench, a store of Rum, Wine, flower, Melasses, Sugar, Tea, &c., brought with you you'll find your self at a Loss for want of them, or else supplied with them & everything else that is not the produce of the Country at most extravagant rates. If you intend to do any business here, a Cooper and a Craft that will carry about 100 barrels will be absolutely necessary. I have suffer'd much for want of them, and that want of Craft and negroes will be a great obstruction in securing the Quantity of Naval Stores at this time that otherwise I might do. Tar is 30 to 35/, Pitch 50 to 55/, Turpentine 70/ p bar^l, Rice £4 to £4.10 p C, boards 15 to £17.10 p thous^d feet, white oak hh^d Staves £15 Pm̄, Shingles 80 to 90/ Pm̄.

The Gov^r will be here the latter end of this week or beginning of next, and if M^{rs} Johnston does not continue in the bad state of health she was in when I left Edenton I am in hopes he will stay

'til your arrival or at least 'til the return of this Express.

As to the little Politicks and disputes of this place, I was never more unconcern'd than at present, for I have nothing either to hope or fear from the Issue of them except the pleasure of re-establishing a good understanding among my friends whom I know to be Gentlemen of worth & honour.

With all his energy and a fair share of hopefulness, Mr. Murray was wholly without the main-spring of sanguine enthusiasm which moved the New England emigrants and supported the Quakers, a trait of character which has come to stand at home and abroad as one distinctive mark of an American. A true American James Murray never became. Still, he was essentially a man of a public spirit, and so far as that spirit could be exercised in an atmosphere of party faction he exercised it. His public standing was high, and he always wrote about provincial matters with a certain tone of authority.

In the year in which he was made a member of the Council, George Whitefield, who had come over from England with Fox, visited North Carolina, while his colleague devoted himself to Virginia. He evidently urged the importance of schools, and in this Mr. Murray was ready to second him, not being of the mind of Governor Berkeley, who broke out, in his report to the proprietors in 1671: "Yet I thank God there are no free schools nor printing

presses, and I hope we shall not have any these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them,— God keep us from both.”

JAMES MURRAY TO THE REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

WILMINGTON, CAPE FEAR, June 24th, 1740.

D^R SIR . . . I heartily thank you for the two barrels flower that you were so kind to Send Me, & the sermons &c with the good advice you give me along with them is very Obliging, & Confirms Me in the Opinion I have always had of you Since I had the hapiness of you acquaintance that you are Sincere disinterested & indefatigable in promoting true Religion, — Christianity. Your Sermons here had (as we have reason to believe) a good Effect on Several of your hearers, & the acco^t of them made many others sorry they were absent.

As the great aim of your life is to do good by propagating the Gospel, it is the opinion of many People of good sence that there is Not a Province in America where your preaching is So Much wanted as in this.

May therefore hope you'll persist in your first resolution of Staying Sometime among us in your way from the nor'ward.

As to a School-master, one would certainly be Very necessary here. I shall consult with those most Immediatly concern'd in that affair, & if they will come under any Engagements sufficient to In-

courage one to come here I shall presume to give you the trouble by the Post to Charlestown of a letter to desire you would recommend one to us.

Early in the year 1744 he went to Scotland to be married to his cousin Barbara. His plantation he left in Mr. Clark's hands. His house was occupied by Mr. McCulloh. Elizabeth's negroes were hired out, while Elizabeth herself accompanied her brother.

JAMES MURRAY TO JAMES HAZEL.

WILMINGTON, 28 Feb., 1743/4.

I have three Negroes named Glasgow, Kelso and Berwick¹ in Trust for my Sister Elizabeth Murray, which you may have on hire for three years from the first of March Next, on or before which Time they Shall be Delivered to You if You Agree to my Proposals; which are: that you Pay Yearly at the Time and manner after mentioned Eight Pounds Sterling money of Great Brittain for the Negro Called Glasgow, and Six Pounds ten Shillings like money each for Kelso and Berwick, in all Twenty One Pounds Sterling; for which Sum You'll Please to Deliver to me or my Attorney some Time between the 10th Day of May next and the 10th Day of May following and so yearly for the said three Years Good Bills of Exchange, or a Sufficient Quantity of Merchantable Produce fitt for a british market, to be Ship^t on your Account & Risque in the first Vessel that I or my Attorneys can Procure freight in after

¹ The names recall the Scottish associations.

the Receipt of it, on which Produce Such Value shall be Insured for you on the Usual Terms as You Please to Direct at each Time of Payment, which Sum Directed to be Insured Shall be accounted for to you in the Customary Terms of Interest in Case of Loss and taken in Payment of the said hire, and the neat Proceeds of Such Commodities so Delivered & Ship^t shall be taken in Payment of the said hire. Among other Charges of Your Goods aforesaid the Premium of the Sum you Direct to be Insured is also to be Deducted from the Neat Proceeds. And in Case you fail to make Sufficient Payment yearly within the Time above mentioned as above mention'd, You Will Pay Whatever Sum you are Deficient, together with Twenty three P Cent thereon, within two months after Such Deficiency Shall be known, in Tar at the Current Price here, reducing the Same to Sterling at the Common Exchange. You'll allow this Twenty three P Cent advance because I have excepted of Sixty five pounds (in Consideration of my being Paid in Sterling money) instead of Eighty Pounds you Offered to Pay me here. And as We have by mutual Consent Valued the said Glasgow at five hundred Pounds, and Kelso and Berrwick at four hundred Pounds each, you will Return the said three Negroes at the expiration of the said three Years from the first of March next, Provided they are alive, but in Case of the Death of them or any of them, or in Case they or any of them run away, so as they can not be found, then & in either of these Cases you must Pay in the Same

manner you pay the hire aforesaid the Value as above fixed of such Negro or Negroes Dead or run away as aforesaid, and allow the hire of such Dead or Run away Negro as if he had been alive and present untill you Pay the Value of him as aforesaid ; and in Case of their being runaway so as not to be had in a Resonable Time, you shall have a Bill of Sale for Such Runaway on Paying the Value as aforesaid and in Case any of them shall Receive any Damage by the Wilfull abuse of Your Overseer, then you must allow for Such Damage at the Returning of the Said Slaves, I am

Sir

Your most humble Serv^t

At some time during this year — 1744 — James Murray and Barbara Bennet were married. For five years after his marriage Mr. Murray remained in England and Scotland. He lived at one time at Ninton, at another at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, at another in London. It was in a house on Tower Hill, in London, in the year 1745, that his eldest child, Dorothy, was born. The death of Mr. Clark recalled him to America, whither with his wife and child and his sister Elizabeth he returned in 1749. He sailed first to Boston, where Elizabeth, as will be seen in a later chapter, established herself in business, and leaving his wife and child there temporarily in his sister's charge, he repaired alone to Cape Fear.

The shoals of the North Carolina coast, and the ignorance of the captain, nearly brought shipwreck

to the vessel in which he sailed from Boston. An account of the misadventure was sent to his cousin and sister-in-law, Jean Bennet. The two sisters, Anne and Jean Bennet, stood in a peculiarly intimate and dear relation to their sister Barbara's family, being able, as they never formed absorbing ties of their own, to give the warmest affection and sympathy to her, her husband, and her children. They were long held in remembrance by James Murray's descendants, several of whom bore their united names, "Anne Jean."

JAMES MURRAY TO JEAN BENNET.

CAPE FEAR July 24th, 1749.

. . . I had yesterday the Happiness to receive Letters of the 24 June from my Lass and my Sister at Boston. . . . You will be curious to know how I do to live without them. Why, to confess the truth, I have a much better time of it than I expected. Whether this is owing to age, to the Heat of the Season, the regularity of my life, or to that Serious turn which grows upon me and becomes more and more agreeable, I cannot tell. I shall leave you to determine. I Discover for all, however, by this Separation that so much of my Happiness depends upon my Dear B— that I shall be very averse to such another parting while it pleases God to continue us in life, and I purpose to be like the Prodigal son after his hardships more obliging for the time to come. But where am I got to? . . . Since I Came here I have been in good Spirits and without any

sort of ailment. I had indeed a little fright in coming which discomposed me. The Story of it is this :

We left Boston on the 5th of June, and after much contrary winds, warm weather and a Stream against us we made the land on Thursday, the 6th of July, about 11 o'clock, having had Soundings about 20 fathom at 8. The day was clear and the wind was fair. In these Circumstances I found a heart more grateful than I believe it would have been after the same Voyage perform'd in a Week or ten days. At noon we were by the Cap^t & Mate's observation ab^t 30 m south of our port. While we were thus sailing along at the rate of four or five miles an hour, and the Pines raising their heads more distinctly to our View, I took the advantage of this Good temper to review my conduct in the place to which I was now returning, to resolve an Amendment of the many faulty parts of it, and to acknowledge the undeserved goodness of Providence in the several Dispensations by which I had been led to so just a sense of my Sins and to a clearer perception of those Rules which adher'd to will secure my Tranquillity in this life and my happiness in the next. I need not tell you how much this meditation exalted the pleasure of my present situation & at the same time check'd the excess of it.

About two o'Clock we discover'd, as we thought, the Inlet of Cape Fear and saw a small Vessel going in before us. At three we came so near as to see

a Ship at Anchor within the Harbour. From that time til four we were trying in vain to bring our Land marks to bear, perplex'd with the shoalness of the Water and with the Breakers we saw ahead. At last, dreading some mistake, we try'd to stretch out again to sea, but the Wind & tide were so strong against us we could not. Then we run in as well as we could. A little after four o'clock the Ship thump'd on the ground about two leagues distant from the shore. At the same time that this shock made my feet start from the Deck it rais'd my heart from its place. The People Star'd at one Another, and the Dog with his tail between his feet run into the Steerage. After a few of these strokes the ship went forward no more, but was only lifted up with the Sea and let fall in the same place. It luckily happen'd to be sand, and she stuck right on her Keel. The Pump was tried; as yet she made no water. The Sails were left standing to hinder her from Striking, and the Yawl was hoisted out with 5 hands to search for the Channel. They returned, finding it all shoal round. Now we fir'd Guns and made other Signals of distress, tho' we knew no help could come to us against such a wind and tide. While we were lying in this posture, the man who was left in the boat to prevent her staving against the Ship let his rope Slip, and away he went. He had nought on but a shirt & P of trewsers, no subsistence, no help in the boat, and above two leagues to the Harbour. Tho' the Wind was in, the tide was almost spent, so we gave up the man for lost;

but that was a small matter to us compar'd to the loss of the boat and the Oars on which our own lives depended. Towards High water between 7 & 8 o'Clock it looked very black, thunder'd and lightened much, so that we expected a Storm and to pass our last night but uncomfortably. Yet the Common Sailors shew'd the same Stupidity, the same inconcern about a future State, and the same disregard of a Supreme Power now they were about to die as they had done in their lives.

A Black Dismal night Succeeded and the Wind increased, but by this time the Water left us at rest upon the Sand and the Wind drove the Waves against the ship as against a Rock, the noise of which prevented me from Sleeping tho I was very much fatigued with helping to heave out Balast to lighten the ship. At last about twelve o'Clock I fell fast a Sleep and was so happy as quite to forget the Condition I was in til near three next morning, when I wakd calm and in good Spirits. Now it being low Water, we saw there was not above two feet Water all round, and the Cap^t now first lost all hopes of the Ship and cried like a Child. I had put up the night before a Candlebox with a couple of Shirts, some papers &c, and was puting in the Silver Spoons; but the Cabin boy told me to put them in my pockets, for they would be taken out of the box. "A good thought," said I, "George, they will help to sink me the sooner when turn'd a Drift, and if I'm sav'd they'll be safe." While I was lying awake and the waves giving us long warning

of their Approach I thought my self very lucky that my wife was not with me, and now I had a very lively view of the vanity of all worldly Possessions. Here was a good Vessel, which we imagined was in a few hours to be safe in her port, like to be reduced to a wreck, and ourselves glad to give up every thing to save our lives and but little prospect of that. Now what avail'd all the Studies, cares & fatigue of my life except those which tended to improve me in Virtue and Religion? Now it was my greatest Support to have a firm perswasion that whether God intended my life or Death it was in Mercy to me; if life, to wean me still more from the world and give me another Instance of Deliverance never to be forgot; if Death to take me out of the way of approaching Temptation and for Exercise to the Piety of those concerned in me.

Our Hopes began again to dawn with the Day, at least of being safe in our lives. The Weather was moderate & the wind off shore, a thing very uncommon on this coast at this Season. About Sunrise we saw a Boat coming out, which in a little time came to an Anchor and made a Signal for us to send our Boat to her; but we could not, having nothing but a great Long boat, no Sails and but two oars. As soon as there was water sufficient she made toward us and to our great Joy we found it was the Pilot of Winyan, which place we had mistaken for Cape Fear. To bring you and myself out of this trouble a little faster than he did, I must

briefly let you know that when we saw him every one, having no hopes of saving the ship, began to put up what few things they chused to save to be thrown on board the boat. He boarded us about seven and told us that a few yards distant from us lay a large parcell of Stones thrown out by another ship in the like distress, which if we had light upon would infallibly have destroy'd us. Favoured with a fair wind & moderate Weather, he got us off again about nine o'Clock to deep water, where you will be glad to leave us til the next Day, being Saturday, that we came safe in here.

Mrs. Murray joined her husband in August, 1750, and in the course of a year or two Point Repose, as the North Carolina plantation was fitly called, became their home.

JAMES MURRAY TO JOHN MURRAY OF PHILIPHAUGH.

WILMINGTON, Nov. 10 1750.

. . . I am giving up all thoughts of Trade and retiring to a Plantation in the Country there not to live in a disgraceful Ease but to be ready at every call to serve my Country or my Friend. When I was appointed one of his Majestys Council for this Province about Eleven year ago there were Eight before me now I stand the fourth in the List — this office to compare small things with great is like your Attendance on Parliament it gives me the benefit of a two hundred Miles Ride twice a Year, some Influence in the Country and some Power to

promote the good of it That and the Charge of Sisters Family and the Independence I can live in are my Chief Inducements to spend the rest of my Days here and never more to think of crossing the Atlantick. . . . Mr Rutherford with all his easy Temper is more pushing than one would imagine he is daily expected here with a Commission for Receiv^r Gen^l of the Kings Quitrents and a Considerable Cargo both obtaind as we hear by the Assistance of Mr Dinwiddie — his Place will be attended with much fatigue and Perquisites worth about two hundred a year.

My Wife desires to be dutifully remembered with me to Lady Philiphaugh and all your family. I have at last got her from Boston to help to plant this New Country but not till I went for her — In May last I arrived in Boston and left it the end of August by which I had an opportunity of spending three of the most disagreeable Months of this Climate in that poor Healthy Place New England — their Health they owe to Gods goodness their Poverty to their own bad Policy and this to their Popular Government.

I have little to say of our Friends here but that they are all well — my Eldest daughter is the only Child I have now alive she is a thumping Girl.¹ My Sister Clark has three fine boys and a Daughter.

The temporary shelter which held the family at

¹ Of the death of the daughter born in Boston there is no mention.

first was before long replaced by a comfortable brick mansion, and though the tale of deaths following hard upon births, bearing evidence to the unhealthiness of the climate, is a sad one, the general tone of life there was that of cheerful success.¹ Mr. Murray's letters to Mrs. Bennet, and to Mrs. Clark, who, in 1753, went back to Scotland, give an idea of the varied and healthful interests of the planter's life, as well as of his unfailing kindness to his sister, now dependent on him for support.

JAMES MURRAY TO BARBARA CLARK.

CAPE FEAR, Febr^y 26th, 1755.

. . . I have about 100 thous'd Bricks burn^t, & am to begin my House, if the Bricklayer keep his word, early next Month. My Crop of Rice comes much short of my expectation, partly by its having been too rank & Lodging & partly from Ignorance & want of Convenience to manage it. The middle part

James Murray's children, so far as the letters and records show were : —

Dorothy, b. 1745, in London; died 1811.

Daughter, b. Jan. 1749, in Boston; died —.

Archibald, b. July 1751, in North Carolina; died 1753.

John.

Jean, b. 1754, in North Carolina; died 1758.

Elizabeth, b. 1756, in North Carolina; died 1837.

Infant, b. 1758, in North Carolina; died 1758.

¹ He was always supported by a philosophic habit of mind. Of a cousin's death he wrote, for example, in 1757, "These Incidents ought to learn us to lean little on Comforts of that kind & to resemble old Officers season'd in Service, who are not so much concern'd to see their Freinds dropping from about them as watchful to do their own part, till it comes to their Turn to fall."

of my Log house I was obliged to turn into a Barn to pound the Rice in, not being able to get a bricklayer in time last fall to build a Barn, and tho I still continue Secretary the Money I get since the Presidents Currency came out is all proc. This renders My remittance for you and my Creditors Slacker & more difficult than I expected it. I thank God, however I have Received & am to receive sufficient to make both them & you easier, & the money employ'd in raising your Nursery gives me more pleasure than any I spend otherways, so you ought not to abate that pleasure by uneasiness or repining on that Score. If Indigo holds its price, or any thing near it, I shall be able to do a great deal, & so will the province in general.¹

JAMES MURRAY TO RICHARD OSWALD & CO.

CAPE FEAR, Feb. 28, 1755.

. . . Being well acquainted with your Publick Spirit, I beg leave to put you in mind of representing to the Lords of Trade & Admiralty the Excellent quality of our Cypress & its fitness for Masts, & how much it would tend to increase our Shipping if proper encouragement could be had for Sending home our pine plank, which far exceeds that of Norway which you buy with ready money, whereas ours would be the purchase of your own Manufactores.

¹ His success in indigo was fair. In 1759 he wrote to his brother John, "I have made about 1000 lb to my share this year, besides Rice and Tar and might have made clear double that quantity had my Overseer been good."

The bounty on Indigo & several other Articles is a proof how usefull that kind of reward is to drive people out of a beaten Track of mispending their Time into unprofitable exports. The people of this Province are about 30,000, who from their Poverty & the Scarcity of European goods, the Effect of their poverty, are obliged to waste much of their time in the Manufactures of wool, flax & Cotton which with a vast deal more benefit to themselves as well as to the Mother Country might be employed in making the rough Materials to be Manufactured where Labour is Cheap & the Climate & soil more inhospitable. The Poverty of this Province appears to me (but to few in the Province beside me) to be owing in a great measure to our dabling in a paper Currency & dispensing with all special Contracts, under pretence of supporting the Credit of that Currency, but in truth to answer the ill designs of the Champions for it to enable them to pay their Creditors on their own terms. Another cause of our Poverty, idleness & uselessness to our Mother Country, & likewise of the thinness of our Settlements, [is] a Single person being able to hold a great quantity at a low rent without Cultivation. All Instructions restraining this are continually broke thro. A more effectual way to remedy the past ills of this kind & to prevent the future seems to be to impose a smart Land tax, either by the General union, if it takes place, if not by act of Parliament. Such an act might be so contrived as to procure a good rent roll for the Crown thro out the Provinces, a Consider-

able part of this Tax to be applied to encourage Manufactures beneficial to the Province & Great Britain. I make no Apology for these Hints. Use them as you please. Our Governor¹ has the Interest of the Crown & his Government much at heart, but does not thoroughly understand the ill Tendency of a paper Currency, especially to a poor Colony, as will be evident to you when I send you his plan for a Land Bank. To this plan it seems he has got the previous Concurrence of the Lords of Trade, & it is to come under consideration next Assembly in November. If it passes, it will continue us in spite of Indigo so much the longer useless to our selves & the Mother Country.

JAMES MURRAY TO SAMPSON SIMPSON.

MR SAMPSON SIMPSON }
 Merch' in New York }

CAPE FEAR, Sept. 4, 1756.

. . . If you Can meet with a Sober diligent man with or without a familly, Skilld in Tanning and Curry-ing, I desire the favour of you to engage him for me for three years at the rate of forty Pounds Sterling payable in the Currency of this Province yearly, or thirty Pounds like Money payable as aforesaid with Provision, lodging & washing. I shall pay the Customary Passage for one or two persons, provide him a House & Some ground to Plante, about 5 Acres

¹ Governor Dobbs, who had recently succeeded to the governorship upon the death of Governor Johnson. Mr. Murray's opposition to this measure and to others proposed by Dobbs drew down upon him the governor's ill-will.

fenced in for himself if he has a family. You may put an advertisement in your paper for this purpose if you see it necessary, and let me Know before Christmas, whether I Can be Suplied by you.

JAMES MURRAY TO JOHN WALLACE.

MR. JOHN WALLACE }
 Merch^t in New York }

CAPE FEAR, Sep^t 4, 1756.

. . . I am also in need of good Sawyer to tend a Saw Mill, which when well tended & in a Common year will Cut about 100 Thousa^d feet. To such a one I would be willing to give a tenth part of the Lumber Sawn. . . . If M^r Franklin would Send me his Gazette postage free, it Should be punctually paid for, & it would also oblige our President, who is my next Neighbour. . . .

JAMES MURRAY TO RICHARD OSWALD & CO.

CAPE FEAR, July 19, 1756.

. . . I find also by a trial that my overseer, a Swiss, has made both this year & last that silk may be made here to great advantage. The worms thrive uncommonly, fed with the leaves of wild Mulberry. Whether they will be equally healthy upon the Italian I Shall know, as I intend to Plant out 2000 trees next year. This, I hope, will entitle me to the bounty of your improving society in London. I have forgot its name. I shall send you a specimen of the silk.

JAMES MURRAY TO BARBARA CLARK.

CAPE FEAR, February 8th, 1757.

. . . The accounts you give of the Children's health & progress except Jammy's are very Satisfactory. Only I think the Master is to blame for keeping back Tommy in Complaisance to his Brother. We cannot expect that Jam will in his sickly way come any great Length, whereas Tom's genius ought to be improv'd to the uttermost. It is my Settled Intention if I live, & let my Family Increase as it will, to carry on Tom's Education at the Expence of £200 or £300 Ster. and to make a Lawyer of him, if he has not an aversion to it. Brother John proposes to take charge of his Namesake, & Jammy must come out with you when the others have done with their Schools, or sooner by himself when the war is over, if the Doctor's think it will be for the Benifit of his health. . . .

I am much oblig'd to Lady Don for her kindness to you & the Children & shall contrive some such way as you propose to make my Acknowledgments to her.

When the French and Indian wars broke out, Mr. Murray followed with interest the movements of his friend Captain Innes. "You will be informed e'er this," he wrote on September 4, 1754, to Captain Archibald Douglas, "that our old friend Col. Innes has the chief command of the American forces aboard the Ohio, where he has an enemy alert in their preparations and notions, well sup-

ported, and only a few ragged men from these discontented colonies without money or provisions to oppose them. Thus he is like to gather few laurels on these mountains. He had better have stayed at home to gather lightwood."

Perhaps it was the influence of Dr. Franklin's gazette that inclined him favorably to the "plan of general union" mentioned in the following letter, although it could not endue him with belief in the immediate greatness of America.

JAMES MURRAY TO JOHN RUTHERFORD.

CAPE FEAR, March 3^d 1755.

. . . About a fortnight ago I had the Pleasure to receive your fav^r & from the Camp at Wills Creek. The calling you off from your Connections & Improvements at home I dare say must be a great Mortification to you, your Lady & Friends, but I would fain hope you will do the Business of the French so speedily that it will only be a short Recess & give a better Relish to your Retirement. The Plan of the General Union or some thing like it seems absolutely necessary to bring the Colonies to act with Vigour in their own Defence, & it is thought such Union will prove a Step in the Scheme of Providence for fixing in Time an Empire in America. But this will be long after our Day.

Every Body in this province (one only excepted) readily acknowledges Col. Innes's fitness for the Task he is engaged in, and will be as ready to thank

him in words for His Services but as to pecuniary Reward I dare say they will not think of it. His Fortunes they know are not only easy, but opulent. Theirs in general are not so. The paper Money they are so bewitchingly fond of gives them, 't is true, some temporary Relief, but certainly brings Discredit, Perfidy & Poverty in the Rear.

If Indigo succeeds, as we have Reason to hope, the value of our Export will be so increased as to remove several of the bad Effects of our Paper Coin; but if that fails, we must spin & weave & brew for ourselves. No body will deal with us. But to return to a more agreeable Subject, your Letter. . . . Mr's Murray & my two Daughters,¹ the eldest & youngest of Six Children, are now all my Stock, & are very healthy & hearty. My Wife has not had an Hour's sickness since she has been in the Province. This and some good Luck as Temporary Secretary render the Climate and other Circumstances tolerably easy to us. . . .

Mr Elliot, Sir Gilbert's Son, about whom you enquire, is making moderate bread as a Lawyer, & that in spite of great Modesty, Integrity & disinterestedness, Qualities for which the Gentlemen of that Profession in this Province are not in General very remarkable.

Of Braddock's defeat he wrote January 14, 1756, to his cousin Lady Mary Don: "Being here at a distance both from the scene and season of war, it

¹ Dorothy and Jean.

is out of my power to give you any information on that head, only that our hopes of success are as sanguine, and we think better founded than ever, since the French have been so depressed at sea and have taught us how to attack and defend in the woods. But whatever coup de maitre by negotiation or arms the French have in reserve for us, it can hardly be more surprising than was Braddock's defeat, not indeed to everybody, for men of experience, some of them I have conversed with, saw him by council and conduct a bird ready for the snare."

While Governor Johnston lived Mr. Murray's interest in public affairs was active, though he did not by any means support all the Governor's measures. Johnston had died in 1752. In 1753 Mr. Murray was appointed "Secretary, Clerk of the Council and Clerk of the Crown," but he was not in sympathy with Johnston's successor, Governor Dobbs, who was appointed in 1754. Friction soon arose between them, which resulted in 1757 in the suspension by the Governor of Mr. Murray, as well as of his friend John Rutherford, then receiver-general of quit-rents, from their seats as members of the Council until his Majesty's pleasure should be known. Through exertions of friends in England, however, who presented the matter before the proper authorities, both were in 1762, by his Majesty with the advice of his Privy Council, reinstated, Mr. Murray being restored to the rank he held at the time of his suspension. This, owing to the death of the

senior member, placed him first in the list, with the ex-officio rank of president of the Council. The suspension seems to have given him little concern, nor are the matters in controversy clearly stated in his letters, but they may be gathered from the printed records.

The underlying cause of the suspension, and the kernel of the whole matter, was Mr. Murray's opposition to Governor Dobbs. This is apparent from a letter written by the Governor himself to the Board of Trade, dated December 27, 1757, in which he states his case against the two councilors, and in which Mr. Murray is made to figure in the novel rôle of leader of a junto, enemy of the royal prerogative, and popular agitator. This letter contains the following paragraphs : —

“First it appeared plain to me that they [Murray and Rutherford] and 2 others had agreed always to vote together in Council and others being disunited that they might carry or reject what Bills they thought proper, and thus by a party to make it necessary to the Governour to confide in them and govern by a party. But I had also further reasons against Mr. Murray, who piqued himself in leading and advising the Junto, that he as one of the Council endeavored to lessen his Majesty's prerogative and add to the power of the Assembly: That he had endeavored to form a party in the Assembly to make himself popular against the Government, raised and encouraged a republican party, drew clauses in the former Sessions which he gave in his

own handwriting to them, to obstruct and clog the Aid Bill by encroaching upon his Majesty's prerogative and taxing the fees of his officers, and so make a division between the Council and Assembly in case they would not carry the clause in Council. However, his clauses were thrown out by management in the Lower House. This I had from several of the members of the Assembly, yet did not think it prudent to mention it in Council as a charge against him, but delayed it until by his schemes something further should appear against him.

"This uniting their Interest together appeared in their carrying a Bill thrō the Council by one vote to distress the Government by secluding several of his Majesty's friends from sitting in future assemblies by a Bill to regulate Elections which I rejected, a Copy of which I send to your Lordships that you may see what they and the assembly are driving at to raise their own power and lessen their dependence on the Crown. This Murray and his Junto did that they might make me unpopular with the Assembly in rejecting their favorite Bill. . . . I therefore leave it to your Lordships whether I have done my Duty in suspending Mr. Murray and Mr. Rutherford from the Council or whether such a designing man acting in conjunction with others against the prerogatives is a fit person to be restored and made a member of the Council."¹

The ostensible reason for the suspension, the "something more which should appear against him,"

¹ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. v. p. 946.

for which the Governor waited, before suspending him from the Council, was Mr. Murray's issuing over his signature printed "notes," which by their terms promised that they should be accepted by the Receiver-General in payment of quit-rents due to the Crown. These instruments were in effect bills drawn upon the Receiver-General, by whom some of them were accepted by his writing on the face over his signature, "To be paid with interest," and were subsequently received in payment of quit-rents from the persons into whose hands they came. The charge was thus directed against both Murray and Rutherford.¹ The issue of these bills, and their

¹ Governor Dobbs's version of the matter, contained in a letter of Dec. 26, 1757, to the Lords of the Treasury, is this : —

" . . . He [Mr. Rutherford] allowed his friend and adviser, Mr. Murray, one of the Council, to issue printed notes under hand and seal without limitation to be allowed in payment of Quit Rents with Interest, . . . which he himself [Rutherford] endorsed or accepted to give the same a Sanction, and directed the several Sheriffs to take them in payment of Quit Rents, which was an effectual way to depreciate the paper Currency of the Province, which he said was with an Intention that Mr. Murray might be paid his arrear due from the Establishment, giving him the preference to others without any orders for it. Upon this sanction Mr. Murray issued Notes of his own to be allowed in the Counties of New Hanover, Onslow, Duplin and Bladen, and upon the success he had in issuing of these he then issued Notes to be allowed in Quit Rents over the whole Province . . . and refused to pay them in Provincial currency or in anything but for Quit Rents or for Debts due to him, or for Goods bought for him at what price he pleased to sell them, which at least is 300 p cent currency upon sterling money. They said he had issued but few, for which no evidence appeared and can't tell when it would have ended if they had not been stop'd by Proclamation, and after their defence the Council without a Negative voting Mr. Rutherford guilty of a misdemeanor in his Office I suspended him until his Majesty's plea-

acceptance and receipt by the Receiver-General in lieu of money was apparently irregular, but involved no bad faith upon the part of either, and was an expedient, not without precedent, adopted as a means of securing payment to Mr. Murray of arrears of his salary then long overdue. At a meeting of the Council, on December 1, 1757,¹ the Governor brought the matter before the Board, and an order was passed that a proclamation issue forbidding the receipt of any such bills thereafter.

Rutherford vigorously defended his course before the Council. When called upon by the Governor to explain his action, he answered,² "Mr. Murray having a salary due to him from the Crown for the time he acted as Secretary and Clerk of the Crown in this Province, & having occasion to buy corn and other Commodity from the Planters, desired leave to make use of this expedient to get payment of his salary, & firmly obliged himself to be accountable to me in money for the surplus if any. This expedient," he continues, "I consented to for the following reasons:—

"1st. Because the receivers, my Predecessors,

sure is known, and both him and Mr. Murray from the Council. . . ." *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. v. p. 941.

It is to be observed that the letter charges that the notes had been issued "without limitation," and disregards the statement of Rutherford and Murray that "he had issued but few," on the ground that no "evidence appeared" to support it, thus casting on them the burden of proving a negative. Rutherford stated specifically that the amount issued was £320.

¹ See *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. v. p. 821.

² See *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 937.

admitted of orders from the Officers of the Crown, in the like cases for Quit Rents and for sums of greater value.

“2nd. Because I apprehended it to be well calculated for easing the Tenant and enabling, nay putting him in mind, to pay his rents, and at the same time for discharging the debts of the Crown without depreciating the Currency, — No person being compelled to take those notes in payment, and the sum issued inconsiderable.

“3rd. The sum Mr. Murray issued in notes was three hundred and twenty pounds, of which there are not more now circulating than eighty eight, and that shall speedily be called in.”

The defense was, however, addressed to unwilling ears, and the minutes of the meeting of the Council of December 14, 1757, contain the following record of the suspension: “. . . and on account of the Issuing the Printed notes under hand and Seal by James Murray Esquire promising the same should be accepted by the Receiver General in payment of his Majesty’s Quit Rents and the same being agreed to be accepted in payment of his Majesty’s Quit Rents by John Rutherford, Esqr. Receiver General of his Majesty’s Quit Rents His Excellency was pleased to suspend the said James Murray and John Rutherford Esqr as Members of his Majesty’s Council for this Province, and the said James Murray and John Rutherford are accordingly suspended until his Majesty’s pleasure be known.”¹

¹ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. v. p. 827.

In a memorial addressed to the "Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations," praying for an inquiry and for redress, Mr. Murray states that he was "suspended from his seat . . . by his Excellency Governor Dobbs without being accused of or being conscious to himself of having been guilty of any crime or misdemeanor whatsoever."¹ The Lords Commissioners sustained the Governor and recommended to the Crown that the suspension of both Rutherford and Murray be confirmed. Their recommendation was based rather upon the general charges of factious opposition contained in the Governor's letter than upon the issue of the bills, as to which as a sufficient ground for suspension they appear to have entertained doubt. "We must beg leave to submit to your Majesty," they reported, "whether the Reasons entred on the Council Journals, grounded as it appears on Facts fully proved in Council, might not alone be sufficient to justify such suspensions and to induce your Majesty to confirm them; but if it be true, as Mr. Dobbs alledges in his letter, . . . that these gentlemen have formed parties in the Council and Assembly with design to embarrass and oppose your Majesty's Prerogative and to add to the Power of the Assembly, We are humbly of opinion that it is necessary for the Peace and good government of North Carolina, as well as for the support of your Majesty's said Governor in his administration, that they should be removed."²

¹ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. v. p. 956.

² *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 957.

The recommendation of the Lords Commissioners bore date May 12, 1758. No further action appears to have been taken by the Crown in the matter until 1763, when by order of his Majesty (George III. since 1760) both Murray and Rutherford were reinstated as has been already explained.

A few passages from Mr. Murray's letters will serve to show how lightly the whole matter touched him. To his brother John he wrote, in January, 1759:—

“I can no longer delay my acknowledgments for the most friendly & Zealous part you have acted in my Affairs. I could wish indeed that you had the same View of them that I have taken since I have been untied from the World by the Loss of the greatest Blessing, the greatest Comfort I had in it.¹ You would then have saved a deal of Trouble & vexation to your self & my good friend your Father in Law. In my present Temper & Circumstances I had much rather be the private man minding my Farm & endeavouring to leave something clear to my Family than be the Zealous Counsellor struggling against the Stream for Measures thought right & hated or envied by those I contended for. I cannot, indeed, say that my Zeal has been always temper'd with that meekness and Prudence which ought to be the Cardinal Virtues of a man in public Life.”

And to John Murray of Philiphaugh in 1760:—

¹ This letter was written after the death of Mrs. Murray.

At the Court at St. James's

the 19th Day of February 1674.

Present

The Kings Most Excellent Majesty

Lord Chamberlain

Lord President

Bishop of Exeter

Duke of Lancaster

Duke of York

Duke of Northumberland

Lord Howard

Lord Chamberlain

Earl of Denbigh

Earl of Sandwich

Earl of Richmond

Earl of Marchmont

Earl of Albemarle

Viscount Falkland

Viscount Howe

Lord North

Lord Bishop of Bath

Lord Sandys

Mr. Treasurer of the Household

Mr. Secretary of State

The Memorialist has for many years been a Member of the Majesty's
Council for the province of North Carolina, and has always discharged
his Duty faithfully; That in the List of the Council for the said
province lately transmitted to Governor Tryon, the Memorialist's Name
is omitted, which the Memorialist is informed happened by mistake
in writing out the List, and therefore humbly praying that his
Majesty will be graciously pleased to Order him to be restored to his
Rank and place in the said Council. — His Majesty taking the said
Memorial into Consideration is hereby pleased with the Advice
of his Privy Council to Order that the said Name be
Requie be restored to the Rank and place he formerly held in the
said Council of the province of North Carolina, — And
the Governor or Commander in Chief of His Majesty's said province
of North Carolina for the time being and all other who may
Concern, are to take Notice and Govern themselves accordingly.

Sp. Geo. Walpole

BOSTON, August 6th, 1760.

. . . I find by all hands you continue to be the same Zealous Patron of your Friends that Philiphaugh used to be. I am sorry, however, you should have had so much solicitation on my account by Reason of Govr. Dobb's Suspension. That gentleman by the extraordinary efforts of his power in more Suspensions and Removals &c. &c. has done all that in him lies to establish properly his own Character and that of his opponents. The seven votes and addresses which have lately passed almost unanimously in his Genl. Assembly will probably appear in your public papers and show in what light he stands here. As I have taken no part in these Squables he has nothing new to charge me with, and I hope it will not be in his power for the former score to keep me out of the list in the next Commission. This is the more material as I am now the first, by the death of the late President. . . .

In a letter of 1761 he said to his brother: —

“As to the politicks of our province, it is some time since you knew my Sentiments of them and the little desire I had to be again engaged in them, so little that I would not trouble my Friends with a Justification of my Conduct, which you hinted to be necessary. They, I knew, did me Justice in their own Opinion. And there was no room to expect it, let me say whatever I could, from a board which had condemned me unheard, upon no heavy charge. From the apparent partiality and Credulity

of the first Commissioner, the Dominus factotum, to my Opponent I imagined it in vain to make my personal appearance at home, altho I could have been well supported with money. Mr. Rutherford's tedious attendance, successful though it may be in the end, is sufficient to deter every man of less patience and Assiduity than himself, that is about 99 in 100. Could I have foreseen the change in the ministry, encouraged by the prospect I should have been ambitious enough to have accepted of your Invitation and of the support that was offered me. Now I believe it too late. From this you perceive that I have seen your Letter of the 7th June, 1760, to my Sister, which overtook me in my way Southward at Philadelphia; and on my return home I met with your long and distinct letter to me of the 15th December, 1759, giving the whole process of Mr. Rutherford's affairs and mine at the boards. This afforded great satisfaction, not only to me but to all our Friends to whom it was proper to show it, which were the fewer, that the old Gentleman our Governor might not be further exasperated."

In the letter of March 3, 1755, to John Rutherford, Mr. Murray referred to his wife's constant good health. A wet and sickly season in the summer of 1757, however, brought on a low fever, which was partly checked by change of air only to come back in full force with the autumn. Her illness continued with alarming symptoms through the winter until, on the 19th of February, she died. Her infant daughter survived her only a fortnight, and

the death of little Jean, a child of engaging qualities, followed hard upon.

The letters of this period speak for themselves.

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY MURRAY.

CAPE FEAR, March 21, 1758.

MY DEAR DOLLY,¹ — Your Letter to your Mama of the 20th Feb came to my hand a few days since with the worked chair, both of which would have given her great pleasure, but she is gone to enjoy pleasures infinitely greater. This Loss, both you & I have Reason to thank God, will be well made up to you in an Aunt whose Affection has been always more like a Mamas than an aunt's; and as to the two younger Children, if they Survive, 't is probable I may get them tollerably well taken care of 'till you come up to be a Mother to them. If you answer my expectations, you may rest assured I shall be as good a father as you can desire. Such a one the Children of the best of Wives deserves, and shall glory in denying my self the enjoyments of a world I am shortly to leave in purpose that you may the better enjoy a world you are soon to come into. Have therefore no anxiety or Suspicion about my Conduct, but be careful of your own. You have a good example before you. Be constant in your prayers to God & in Endeavours to imitate it. It is my purpose, if it is agreeable to your Uncle & Aunt, to continue you where you are till the Au-

¹ Dorothy was with Mr. Murray's sister Elizabeth in Boston.

tumn 1760, unless they come hither in the time & then you can return with them.

If my Sister thinks proper all or part of your Mama's Cloaths shall be sent for you. May God direct & preserve you for a Comfort to a father who at present is desolate enough.

Your affectionate

J M

March 23. Your Sister Jeany dead

JAMES MURRAY TO MRS. BENNET.

CAPE FEAR, March 25th, 1758.

DEAR MADAM, — . . . The Waters continued on our low grounds part of July & August with little Intervals, and at going off in September the Vapours from the Swamps made the Inhabitants near the low Grounds very sickly. Hence M^{rs} Murray's and my Daughter Jeany's sickness begun. We went to the Sound near the Sea in October, & they recovered so fast that she was impatient to be home that I might be disengaged to look after my business; but no sooner came we home than she relapsed into her intermittent fevers, attended with Swellings. We went back to the Sound in Nov^r, but not with equal benefit. . . . At length on the 17th of February M^{rs} Murray was deliverd of a Daughter in the 8th Month, and died on the 19th. The young child lived only a fortnight after her, and Jeany died on the 23^d of this Month. I am

Your dutiful & Affect^e Son

JAMES MURRAY TO JEAN AND ANNE BENNET.

March 27th 1758.

D^r SISTERS, — I must refer you for what concerns you here to my letter to your Mamma of the 25th. The tale is not easy to be repeated. I did not imagine any thing in this world or the Loss of all of it would have sit so heavy on my Spirits. In this Distress the following home spun Lines have been some hours amusement. I know I have no turn for what they aim at, but when I meet with any thing of that sort not unworthy of the Subject I have a very good Marble Slab on which to cut them. I have saved some of your Sister's Hair, which I shall send with my Crop in the fall if I make any for Rings to you both & Mamma.

You may depend on my making a good Father to both my poor Children. . . . Dolly I intend shall stay with her Aunt for a year or two, & Bettzy must be my little Comfort here if it pleases God to spare her. I am D^r Sisters

Your Affectionate Bro^rFebruary the 19th, 1758.

At Point Repose

Humbly Confiding

In the Approbation of Almighty God

Of a Life well spent

In the prudent and pious Discharge

Of Every Duty incumbent

A Soul departed the Earth

And for herself now careth not

How or by whom she be here remembered

But her Friends

Who in her Life were happy, in her Death are desolate

Here plant this in Fears.

But why Lament ? since a few minutes more

“ Will set us off this Transitory Scene

“ In Joy Serene for ever to remain

With this Meek Friend whom we deplore.

JAMES MURRAY TO BARBARA CLARK.

CAPE FEAR, April 1st, 1758.

SISTER CLARK, — . . . thus it has pleased God in a very Short time to make a wide breach in my Family. May I learn from it to be more resign'd & to be faithful & Diligent in my part while I am left behind. . . .

As to advice about your moving & the Children's Education & putting them to business, I am greatly at a Loss. Were it not for the uncertainty of the Times I should be glad to have you here with Tommy, since he inclines to be a planter. It will disappoint my Hopes to see him something of more importance than a meer Planter, but since it has pleased God to disable me to prosecute that Scheme as I intended and to reduce me to this Solitary Condition, his being here will be a present ease & help to me without, and your care will be no less necessary within doors, for I do not propose to take Dolly from her Aunt at Boston these two years. Jacky cannot be placed better than with his Uncle John to be brought up in his way, but his Education must be finished so as to make him fit for the business either there or thereabout if you come away. I have no Objections to James's being a Merchant, only let him be with one that is really such and who is exact and regular in Method, and this on as easy

Terms as may be. I suppose you'll bring Anny with you. I still think she ought to be bred under her Aunt at Boston, tho' I have heard nothing in approbation of what I formerly proposed about that either from you or them. If it should succeed, she must stay till Dolly comes away, that we may not be too burdensome.

You are not to construe any thing in this as a Desire, and much less as peremptory Directions, for your coming out. I submit the whole intirely to your own Judgment and Inclination. If you find Continuing at home will be more agreeable to you and more for the benefit of the Children, stay in God's name. The Difference of Expençe in one way or the other will be inconsiderable to me. I hope, if Fortune does not persist in persecuting me, still to be able to continue your 60£ a year, if that will do. But Times must Mend considerably before I can pay up the arrears or enlarge the allowance, as I am sensible it ought to be according as your Children grow up. And it is likely Bro^r John's Circumstances are so narrow & his own Family so large that he can give no Assistance, to which his generous Heart would readily prompt him were he able.

Miss Bell McNeil has been with me since your Sister died & takes great care of the House & Bettzy, who seems at present to thrive, but so did the rest at her age. . . .

DOROTHY MURRAY TO JAMES MURRAY.

BOSTON, June 24th, 1758.

HONOURED FATHER, — I received your most affectionate letter which brought the melencholly news of my Dear Mammass death. It greaves me very much . . . I have an Aunt that has always been like a mother to me which I am very thankfull for, notwithstanding the loss of so Dear and Tender a mamma is very great to me, but Gods will must be done. I hope He will enable me to submit as becomes one who has been brought up as I have. You my Dear Papa meet with great afflictions ; how moving your letter. The death of my two Sisters so soon after my Mamma must increase your grief tho' small in comparison to the first, yet to so tender and good a Father it is melencholly. You bid me have no anxiety or suspicion about your conduct. No my Papa, far be it from me to suspect you in anything that would not be to my advantage. I am very anxious about your health. I hope you will do everything to contribute to it and pray keep up your spirits. I shall endeavour with the assistance of my Aunt to be qualified as you direct, and hope with your good advice from time to time to answer your expectations in every particular. I am determined to do everything in my power that she thinks will be agreeable to you.

May God Almighty of his Infinite Goodness, Bless and preserve My Dear Papa for a director to his helpless babes — helpless indeed without your paternal care. I hope we shall have gratitude enough

to acknowledge your goodness to the last moment of our lives. Even after this mortal state that we meet never to part and give thanks that we had so good a Father and Mother, is the sincere prayer of

Your most dutifull Daughter

DOROTHY MURRAY.

P. S. — Give my love to my dear little Sister Betzy. I have sent her a doll and a few other things which I hope she will like. Please offer my compliments to Mis McNel and I am very glad she is with you.

Adieu.

To Dr. John Murray, who had for some years been married to Mary Boyle, daughter of Valentine Boyle, Collector of Customs, and was settled ashore¹ in the practice of his profession, Mr. Murray wrote in January, 1759 : —

“I congratulate you on your Numerous family, & rejoice to hear how happy a man my Sister Makes you. If your Roses are mix’d with thorns, there’s no other cure for that in my Dispensatory than Resignation. Every part of your Letter engages my affection, but that the most where you undertake to be a parent to my Girls in case they are deprived of their solitary surviving one. I do not flatter myself with living to take care of some of your Bairns ;

¹ Dr. John Murray served for many years as a surgeon in His Majesty’s navy, but having received his diploma from Edinburgh, retired from service on half pay, and in 1751 settled at Wells in Norfolk, where he practiced as a physician until 1768, when he removed to Norwich. See Appendix.

but if I do, it will be as much in my power, & no less in my Inclination, if they are willing to become Americans, a Country which in their day will in all probability be a very flourishing one, & the new Acquisitions toward the Mississippi the most. Let me not by anything said alarm you for my health or chearfulness. My Health has been better of late than it used to be in the Winter season, & if I have little Comfort I have little care. My House is almost finished & paid for at a very easy rate, considering the Strength, Beauty & Conveniency of the building. The money & Labour expended on it, or a great part of them, would probably have been sunk otherwise without such a desirable Monument of the Expence. 'T is true the House is by much too grand & splendid for me, considering how my Family & Prospects are reduced, & yet I do not repent the undertaking. If my Daughter does not like it or has no use for it, it will sell better in her day than mine, and in the mean time a Corner of it will afford me a warm & comfortable Retirement. I am not out of humour with the Country as you imagine. I am perswaded I have my health better here than I could have any where else, and my Improvements are amusements to my taste no other place could afford. As to the people, they are neither better or worse in gross than those of other Countries : that I have not been a greater favourite with them is more my own fault than theirs."



DR. JOHN MURRAY

CHAPTER III

BITS OF FAMILY HISTORY

1749-1773

WHEN James Murray returned to America in 1749, accompanied by his wife, his young daughter Dorothy, and his sister Elizabeth, their ship, perhaps owing to stress of weather, put in at Boston. Elizabeth had provided herself with a stock of millinery and dry goods, and had, apparently, contemplated engaging in trade in North Carolina. It may be that her Scottish shrewdness recognized the superior advantages which Boston offered for her undertaking. Be this as it may, she remained in the New England town, and, aided by her brother's advice and credit with the London merchants, launched forth upon a modest but successful business career. Boston thus became a second home for the Murrays in America.

Her business affairs, as a rule, ran smoothly. One exception she notes in 1755 as follows: —

“I have got myself a little involved at present but am in hopes of getting Clear of it soon. There was one Edmund Quincy and sons, very considerable merchants and reckoned to be worth one hundred thousand pound, took it into their heads to draw

bills, and sold a number of them to very cautious people in this town. Then they were bound for Fletcher to William Vassall for fifteen hundred pound sterling. Fletcher ran away, then Vassall demanded the money of them, so they shut up before the bills they had drawn came back. I had L. 110 came about three weeks ago, and I put it into a Lawyer's hands directly, who tells me I am secure. I had another of L. 45 of them that is not come yet; so soon as it does I believe I shall have the money for both. I am determined for the future to buy no bills but from Col. Royall who promises to supply me."

Elizabeth's first abode in Boston was on King Street, with Mrs. Barker, a motherly woman whose sisters and daughters became valued friends of the Murray family. Near by, also on King Street, were the Mackays, eventually to be near connections; and in time other acquaintances added themselves to these. So attractive, indeed, were Elizabeth's surroundings that Mrs. Murray, who, after her husband's departure for Cape Fear, remained for a while in what he called "that poor healthy place, New England," was unwilling to depart for North Carolina even after the birth of her second child, the event which had originally detained her. Apparently she was really loath to go to the warmer climate, which was one day to cost her her life. When she did at last rejoin her husband, she gladly sent Dorothy back to Elizabeth, realizing well the advantages which the northern town could give.

As with one exception the other children born to James Murray sickened and died in the south, there is reason to believe that Dorothy Murray owed her preservation to her aunt's devotion and to New England air.

In 1755 Elizabeth married Thomas Campbell, a Scotch merchant and trader, whose enterprises carried him back and forth between Boston and Cape Fear. James wrote concerning the event to Dr. John Murray, settled at Wells:—

“Dolly's being with her Aunt at Boston will certainly be no News to you, nor Betzy's Marriage to Tho^s Campbell,¹ son of James Campbell, whom you may remember a housekeeper in Wilmington. Betzy askd my Approbation of this Match in due form, which I gave, not doubting of her having accepted of the best that offer'd & considering she had not much time to wait for further Choice.² Beside my complaisance to her, to whom I have never had Occasion to refuse any thing, the young Man's Sobriety, Industry & Integrity were Recommendations not always to be met with in this part of the world. He is coming hither in a Vessel he charts to load with tar. Having been bred to the Sea, he has had the command of several small vessels from this Port. For further particulars I must refer you to Time & the new Couple.”

On the 14th of March, 1756, another daughter

¹ In another letter Mr. Murray describes him as “nephew to one of the Professors at St. Andrews.”

² Mr. Murray had not the gift of second sight to foresee his sister's matrimonial future.

was born in Wilmington or at Point Repose. This was Elizabeth, the only child besides Dorothy who was destined to survive. Dorothy was by this time with Mrs. Campbell in Boston and already deep in the affections of her aunt, who never possessed a child of her own on whom to expend the wealth of her warm heart.

ELIZABETH MURRAY TO JAMES MURRAY.

Boston, May 12, 1756.

. . . I am obliged to you for the honour you do me in naming your daughter Elizabeth. I take it wholly to myself, notwithstanding I do not imagine I shall like her half so well as my Doll, who is well and fond of writing and drawing, as little sewing as you please. I shall get a book according to your desire and mind her reading. She hopes you or my sister will write to her. . . .

General Winslow set out yesterday with eight thousand men for Crown Point. He says he never will return unless he succeeds. His courage and good conduct induces every one to believe he will. I had a letter from Brother John about ten days ago. All friends are well. I neglected writing to them after the earthquake which I am sorry for as they seem to be uneasy about me.

The business which Elizabeth Campbell had built up for herself was not abandoned upon her marriage. Aided now by the experience of her husband, she still continued to receive goods from London and to

sell them at her Boston store. This, as it proved, was a prudent course, for Mr. Campbell's life was short. In a very few years he died, leaving her not, indeed, without means of support, but glad of the additional income furnished by her own exertions. She had, however, health, comparative youth, and friends. Moreover, her large heart and sunny temper gave her a winning personality. She was, as her brother said, "vastly beloved for her frankness and continual endeavors to do good offices."

A comfortable prosperous figure in Boston at that time was Mr. James Smith, sugar baker, whose refinery had been in working since 1729 or before, — Elizabeth Murray's whole lifetime, practically, — and who had amassed wealth as well as years. His house on Queen Street, — Court Street now, — was central in position, surrounded by other residences of its kind, yet conveniently near the sugar house, which stood on Brattle Street, between the old church and what was known as Wing's Lane. At the same time it was not far from King's Chapel. As one of the churchwardens of King's Chapel and a generous contributor to its needs, Mr. Smith stood high in the esteem of his fellow-townsmen, and the few allusions to him in the records and traditions of his day indicate that he was no less a genial friend than an open-handed citizen.

It was he who imported the old Dutch elms once so prized in Boston. The story goes that Mr. Smith, being in London, was struck by the beauty of the elms in Brompton Park, and procuring some young

trees of the same kind had them planted in his nursery on his beautiful farm, Brush Hill, in Milton. The fame of these trees spreading, one of his friends, Mr. Gilbert Deblois, asked for some, saying that he would in return name his new-born son for Mr. Smith. The bargain was struck, and James Smith Deblois, baptized May 16, 1769, bore witness to its fulfillment. A second friend, Judge Auchmuty, made Mr. Smith a similar offer, and received a supply of the trees. The Dutch elms standing in front of the Unitarian meeting-house at Milton, planted there at a later date by Mr. Murray's son-in-law, Edward Hutchinson Robbins, were of the Brush Hill stock, and so were many others now vanished; but those received by Mr. Gilbert Deblois became the most celebrated. These were set out in front of the Granary, just opposite Mr. Deblois's house in Tremont street.¹ As Addino Paddock's shop window looked out upon them, Mr. Deblois enjoined Mr. Paddock to have an eye to their safety; and as Mr. Paddock twice had occasion to offer rewards for the discovery of offenders who had injured the trees his name came to be associated with them, and they to be known as the Paddock Elms. Boston made a sturdy fight for them before they fell a prey to advancing travel and traffic.

What preliminary acquaintance Mr. Smith had with Mrs. Campbell the letters do not say, but in 1760 they were married, and for the rest of his life they lived happily together. "I can assure you,"

¹ Mr. Deblois lived on the site of Horticultural Hall.

James Murray wrote to John in 1761, "they both enjoy a happiness which is rarely met with in a match of such disparity." Her brother rejoiced in this marriage, which he declared placed her "in the best circumstances of any of her sex in the town." Prosperity for one member of the family meant help for all. Both James and Elizabeth had a thorough regard for money, but they always wanted it that they might use it for others.

JAMES MURRAY TO JOHN MURRAY OF PHILIPHAUGH.

BOSTON, Aug. 6, 1760.

. . . I left [Cape Fear] the end of June to visit my Daughter and new married Sister here. This last was married in March to Mr. James Smith, Sugar baker in this town, an agreeable good natured Gentleman of Seventy, a £.30,000 man, ten thousand Ster. of which he has settled on Bettzy, beside her own Fortune and the Life Rent of a valuable farm. This sets her above the Cares of the World and, what is vastly preferable, gives her those opportunities of doing good in which Philiphaugh and many of his Relations delight.

At Mr. Smith's and her Request I am to entreat the favor of you to provide him with a Sober young Man for a Gardner who can perform also the Business of a Coachman and groom. He will have a negro man under him, whom he must instruct in those Articles. He must be under Indenture or Contract for three years. You may draw for his passage on Messrs Bridgen and Waller, Merchants

in London, and may agree that there shall be paid to him in gold or silver fifteen pounds Sterling for the first year and twenty pounds Sterling for the two succeeding years and further that he shall be free to return if he chuses at the expiration of one year and his passage home shall be paid by Mr. Smith, but he shall not be at liberty to leave his Master or Mistress to go any where else in America. He shall be provided in sufficient Diet, Lodging, and washing, and shall have a compleat Suit of Livery to himself for occasions. He ought to be here before March, Mr. Smith's Gardner being then to leave him. I would not have presumed to give you the trouble of this Commission were I not persuaded that it is giving you the Opportunity of obliging some deserving Young Man with a very good place in a healthy, plentiful Country under an Indulgent Master and Mistress.

Her aunt's increased ease was shared by Dorothy. Indeed, her father could not quite approve of the "softness" of his daughter's education. He wrote in August, 1760, to Anne and Jean Bennet:—

"Dolly, now as tall as her Aunt here, is employed to copy this to show you her progress in writing. The other Branches of her Education have not been neglected, but you would not be pleased to see the indolent way in which she and the young Ladies of this place generally live. They do not get up even in this fine Season till 8 or 9 o'clock. Breakfast is over at ten, a little reading or work until 12, dress

for dinner till 2, after noon in making or receiving Visits or going about the Shops. Tea, Supper, and chat closes the Day and their Eyes about 11. I believe I do them great Justice in allowing that they employ to some good purpose two hours of the twenty four. If it is otherwise let your Niece set you right, for she tells me that she is to write by this Vessel.”¹

His opinion of New England was changed. “You cannot well imagine,” he said, in this same letter, “what a Land of health, plenty and contentment this is among all ranks, vastly improved within these ten years. The war on this Continent has been equally a blessing to the English Subjects and a Calamity to the French, especially in the Northern Colonies, for we have got nothing by it in Carolina. I am almost tempted to wish that instead of broiling and squabbling about public affairs in Carolina I had been set down quietly here, but as it has been otherwise determined by the Supreme over-ruler of all Events, I am satisfied. My Motto may be now little Comfort little Care. I formerly enjoyed more of the pleasureable part of life, but never more tranquility. The greatest anxiety I have had of late was to leave my Estate among those to whom it belongs clear of any Incumbrances.”

Of his younger daughter he gives her aunts a good account :—

“Your niece Bettzy continues to be a very thriving hopeful child, growing more and more like her

¹ See Appendix.

Mamma every day. If I find fortune and Resolution enough, I propose to send her in two or three years hence under your care. I think it but a piece of Justice to commit to you that lively Remembrance of your Dear Sister, and have nothing to dread but for you, the care and anxiety she will give."

Betsy was not, however, sent to Scotland. Mrs. Smith had for some time wished to take her namesake under her own care, and in 1761 the child came to her house, to be thenceforth a close and dear companion. At the same time Mrs. Clark's children, particularly John and Annie, were anxiously considered. "As to our nephew Jacky Clark," Mr. Murray wrote from Boston in July, 1761, to his brother John; ". . . there is the more reason to be careful of his education as the other two boys have been much neglected by bad Masters. Tommy, however, is like to prove a good planter and has from Nature the advantage of all his father's agreeable modest behavior. . . . Anny, who is come hither with my little daughter and me, is the best English reader of the three, is very sensible, good tempered, and agreeable. . . . I arrived here . . . with Intention to spend the hot months in this place of health, plenty, and good Company. I intend to carry Dolly with me to the Southward in Septr, and to leave Anny Clark and Bettzy with their Aunt till our Return next Summer."

Mrs. Mackay, previously spoken of as living on King Street, had two daughters, Mrs. Gordon and Mrs. Thompson, the latter the wife of Dr. Thomp-

son of Charleston, S. C., who was one of Mr. Murray's friends. Dr. Thompson died, and Mr. Murray, who had done many kind offices for them both, finally, at Mrs. Mackay's home in Boston, on the 30th of November, 1761, married Mrs. Thompson, a step which proved to be a fortunate one for Mr. Murray's daughters as well as for the two most concerned.

To Dorothy, who, meanwhile, had been visiting friends in New York, her father sent a few affectionate lines after the ceremony.

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY MURRAY.

BOSTON, November 30th, 1761.

DEAR DOLLY,— Your Aunt has received your letter of the 22d from York, and with me heartily congratulates you on your new Relation, which we hope will in a great measure make up for the late loss you have sustained.

We are to sleep this night at Brush-hill, and from thence along to-morrow as fast as we can. The Ceremony has been over about an hour very privately, and we eat our St. Andrews dinner with Mrs. Mackay. Remember me to Mr. Rutherford, the Ladies, and Mr. Barker if he is still with you. Your Aunt and Anny are so hurried they have no time to write. In this instance and in every one of my life I hope to prove, Dear Dolly,

Your truly affectionate Father.

By April, 1762, schemes for Mr. Murray's re-

moval to Boston had taken deep hold on Mrs. Smith's mind. Mr. Smith was withdrawing from the sugar business; she wished Mr. Murray to take it up. Mr. Murray, however, while willingly assenting to her plans, was in no haste to be off from his plantation, which he really loved. He was, moreover, soon afterward "reinstated." "I hope it will not prevent his coming here," wrote Mrs. Smith to Dorothy. "If it does, it will be grief to one whose heart is bound up in him and his." But at last the break was made. In 1765 Mr. and Mrs. Murray removed to Boston, to cast in their lot with their sister.

Mr. Murray already had warm friends in Boston and felt himself in congenial surroundings. He occupied Mr. Smith's house on the corner of Queen Street, the Smiths reserving for themselves a certain portion of it, though they resided at Brush Hill. One of his friends was the Rev. John Hooper, rector of Trinity Church. Mr. Hooper's son, William, had studied law in Boston, under James Otis, and had begun the practice of his profession in Wilmington before Mr. Murray left North Carolina. The young lawyer, as time went on, paid his addresses to Annie Clark, who, it will be remembered, was growing up under Mrs. Smith's care. For some time his suit did not prosper. The Murrays, conservatively loyal to government, were made cautious by the patriotic tendencies of James Otis's pupil. Mr. Murray did not fail to give him candid advice.

JAMES MURRAY TO WILLIAM HOOPER.

BOSTON, July 6th, 1765.

DEAR SIR, — I am now embracing the first opportunity of acknowledging the Rec^d of yours of the 7th May, a very agreeable Letter so far as you insinuate that some of the good folks of our Province have been pleased to think favorably of my Intentions, which are all or almost all I deserve any Credit for. After a Service of near thirty years I cannot say I have been able to do them any Essential Service, owing in a great measure to my trusting too much to the Rectitude of my Intentions without the Vehicle of address necessary to bring them into Action in a Government such as ours. Agreeable is your letter likewise, as it informs me of your Close Application to Study and Business, in which I was in great hopes of your Proficiency and success untill I saw the Stamp Act, which in the Execution will cast such a damp upon the litigious Spirits of your province by draining their pockets as will greatly abridge the practice of Law there and indeed throughout America, especially in the poorer provinces, and leave bread only for a few of the profession. Whether you will be of the number is doubted, as some conjecture you will be scared by sickness or impelled by passion to come off, and leave your Harvest in the Field. As to your love affair which you hint at I refer you to your father, who has read me part of his letter to you on the subject in a manner perfectly agreeable to my own sentiments.

I must own I regret your having had, through my means, fuel for your flame so near you on your own account, but much more for the other — for the parties in that affair treat on very unequal terms. The longer *he* waits the fitter he may be in every respect for matrimony — not so with the *other*, and to make it up directly would be certain ruin to both. . . .

I must refer you to other Letters for particulars of your Friends here. I shall only hint a few. Miller at Marleborough dying by inches and looking death in the face with the Serenity of a Socrates. Mr. Smith has had an ill turn lately, but recruits fast; he is come to town to frolic. Your Brother John is sick, George a Lad of great hopes, Tommy idle because he was too high spirited to do some servile Jobs at Amorys. The People in high dudgeon here upon account of the late Acts, but not so outrageous as some of the Southern Colonies. Potash become a very valuable export. This province, they say will ship a thousand tons this year, value £30 Sterling a ton and more.

My Wife, Daughter and Niece present their compliments to you and will rejoice to hear of your health and success as well as,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate

Humble Servant.

At the death, in 1767, of the Rev. John Hooper, and in obedience to his wishes, Mr. Murray assumed a parental care of the family, which consisted of

Mrs. Hooper and the sons spoken of in the preceding letter. William Hooper then married Annie Clark, though still under the disapproval of her relatives. Mr. Murray even went so far as to say: "This match Anny made for herself without her brother's approbation. This young man is an attorney at law in North Carolina whither he went under my patronage and where he may do well if he has prudence, which is doubted." That prudence which was doubted was the wisdom to keep on the King's side. In view of the success of the man and of the marriage the comment has a piquant interest.

Dorothy also had, by this time, grown to maturity. She was a lively fascinating young creature, a great favorite with all who knew her, especially, say the family traditions, with one of her cousins. Rather against the protests of her friends, who could not bear the thought of her going so far away from them, she accepted the hand of the Rev. John Forbes, a clergyman then settled at St. Augustine, and their marriage followed in 1769.

It was with heavy hearts that Dorothy Forbes's father and aunt saw her set off for Florida. Mrs. Smith was, in fact, made almost ill by the loss of the niece who was so dear to her.

"Words cannot express nor pen write what I have suffered and am like to suffer by parting with you," says her letter of June 22, 1769. "I dwell much on a promise Mr. Forbes made me. It was that he would make a visit here soon. It often

rouses my drooping spirits and makes me wish to live to see you happy in each other. Whenever I have thought of your settling in the world, it has been the height of my ambition to have you near me. It is ordered otherwise and I must submit."

As a means of distraction she paid a visit to her friend Mrs. Barnes¹ in Marlborough, a correspondent whose lively pen must be allowed to contribute its share to our knowledge of the family doings. Her letter, which gives a picture of the mode of visiting and of traveling at that time, when the chariot or single horse chaise or riding double were the means of conveyance from one country house to another, is as follows : —

MRS. BARNES TO DOROTHY FORBES.

MARLBOROUGH, June 11th, 1769.

. . . I have rambled down one side of my Paper without thinking what Subject to enter upon. I know of none that will be more agreeable to you than an account of your Aunt & her family. I am very well qualified for the undertaking, haveing had the happiness to enjoy her Company for this Month past. One half of the time we spent at Brush Hill and the other at Marlborough. Her Health (She says) is better then when you left her. You know she never complains, but if one may judge by her countenance She is far from being well. Her journey to Marlborough was with a Veiw to her Health, but She suffer'd so much fetegue both in

¹ Wife of Henry Barnes.



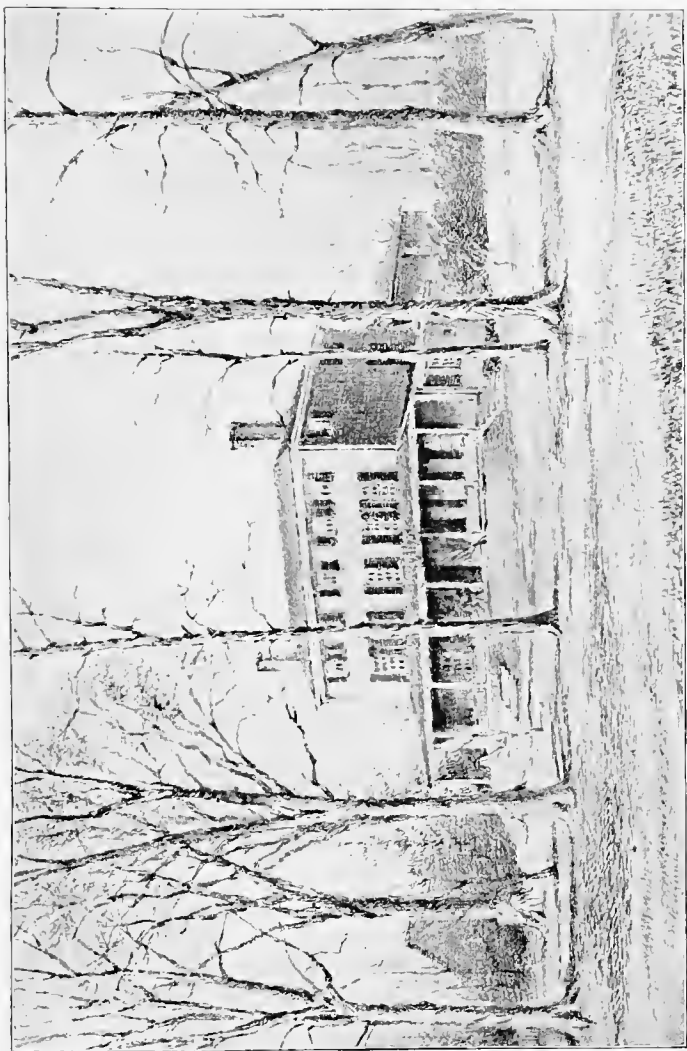
DOROTHY MURRAY

coming & going that I fear she received but little Benifit. There is a strange fatality attends all her undertakings. As a profe of it I will endeavor to give you some account of our journey. We sat out from M^r Inman's early in the Morning, M^r & M^{rs} Smith in the Chariot which she had converted into a Post Chaise, Miss Murray & my Self in our Post Chaise, Tom & Bill for attendents, accompanied by M^r Spence & his Wife. We all arrived in very good season to Dinner at Baldwins, but it is out of my Power to give you any description of the Difficultys we underwent in the last fifteen Miles. I shall only say that some of us arrived at 10 o'clock, some at 12 and the Last (which you may be sure was your Aunt) came in at Two in the Morning. However, we none of us received any injury from the journey, and after M^r Spence & his Wife left us, Your Aunt & I enjoy'd a Week together with little or no interuption, at the end of which we were favor'd with a Visit from the two M^{rs} Belchers, who staid with us a Week. I beleive your Aunt would not have left us so soon if we could have made M^r Smith Eassy, but that was impossible. I could not help joining in Miss Cumingses Prayer and heartily wish'd the good Man in Heaven, for thither he is bound, tho I think he makes but a Slow progress on his journey. To close the whole of this account, when the Day was fix'd for their departure your Aunt went off in the Morning Mounted upon a Single Horse, with out taking leave of any Body, and rode Twenty Mile fasting without once dis-

mounting. They reach'd Home the same night, and Your Aunt writes me word that she received no manner of inconveniency from Her journey, but is in very good Health & Spirits.

Mr. Smith's long life, cheered to the last by his wife's affectionate care, came to an end on the 4th of August, 1769.¹ Much worn by protracted nursing, Mrs. Smith, taking Elizabeth with her, now went to Scotland for change of scene. It was at this time that Brush Hill passed into Murray hands, for, before leaving home, Mrs. Smith made over to her brother James, in trust for Dorothy and Elizabeth, the Milton farm. Mr. Murray, with much content, established himself there, hoping to "run off the dregs of his days" in peace. Of the farm he had some years before given his brother a graphic description. It had, he said, "a good house, well furnished, good Gardens and Orchards, Meadows and pasturage in 300 acres." Then, continuing, he added, "A rivulet washes it, and by several windings loses itself between two bushy hills before it runs into the great bay. Of this bay, often covered with sails, and of the Light house there is a fair prospect from the house, which stands on an eminence and overlooks also a pleasant Country round. It is in short one of the pleasantest and most convenient seats I see in the Country."

¹ "He was 'buried from his own house at ye corner of Queen St.,' says an interleaved almanac of that year." Drake's *Hist. of Bost.*, p. 767.



THE HOUSE AT BRUSH HILL, MILTON

Mrs. Murray was frequently at the farm, but she loved the city. "Mrs. Murray continues to move in the gay world," wrote one of her acquaintances, "with the same spirits as if she was but fiveteen, and is distressed to death for fear there should be no assembly this winter. She roals in her chariot, for you know she's mistress of one, and makes visits to all the great folks."

A correspondence between Mrs. Barnes and Mrs. Smith carries on our story.

MRS. BARNES TO ELIZABETH SMITH.

Oct. 14, 1769.

. . . It is a Mellencholy reflection that before this reaches you we should be separated above three Thousand miles and that while I am now writing you are tossing upon the merciless Ocean, sick and not able to hold up your head . . . But I must once more return to myself and to the Fatal Hour that parted us. Did you see nothing in my countenance that discovered my inward anguish, or have I (by coppeing your example) obtained some degree of Fortitude? My Passion struggled for a Vent, tho I only showed the concern of a common acquaintance. 'Tis true I did not Dare to Approach you for fear my emotions should burst out into some indecencys, and yet notwithstanding my caution it was reported that I took you in my arms and screem'd violently. You know whence this mistake proceeded; the Lady and I were both dressed in Black, and, being pretty much of a size, the

standers by were deceived. I must confess her behavior shocked me, nor had I the least inclination to follow her example, tho I earnestly wished for a Parting Kiss had the time and place been proper. . . . Since I have mentioned Mr. Rowe give me leave to ask you if you was not extremely Pleased with his Polite behaviour upon the Warfe? . . . And pray did you observe another gentleman who look'd as if he would have given his eyes for a tender farewell? But to Mr. Rowe you gave your hand, and to Mrs. Murray your lips, while we at Humble distance stood motionless with Wonder and surprise.

Nov. 20th, 1769.

Last Thursday, which was Thanksgiving Day, a Ball was given by Mrs. Murray at Brush Hill to a number of gentlemen and Ladys from Boston. Miss E. Cumings was one of the Party. Their goods and ours are arrived in very good order, which has caused a Comity from the Well Disposed to wait upon them and write to Mr. Barnes with a desire that the goods may be Stored till further orders. . . . Those daring Sons of Liberty are now at the tip-top of their Power and . . . even to Speak disrespectfully of the Well Disposed is a Crime equal to high Treason. . . . When the deluded multitude finds they have been led astray by false maxims they may Possibly turn upon them with their own weapons. . . . This is my Private opinion, but how I came to give it is a Mistry, for Politicks is a puddle I never choose to dabble in.

Dec. 23, 1769.

Oh how I long to have one political Laugh with you! Would you not be diverted to see Squire Barnes and the two little Miss Cumingses Posted together in a News Paper as Enimys to their country? Do, Bless you, send us a little Dash of Politics from tother side the water that we may see something that has the appearance of Truth, for our Well Disposed import such a vast quantity of lies with their other Articles that they begin to find a difficulty in vending them.

Feby the 9, 1770.

. . . I was yesterday thrown into the most Violent agitation by a Letter I received from Mr. Ezekial Goldthwait with a packit enclosed, which he informed [me] was from you. . . . I . . . eagerly stepped aside to open it, in full faith I should find your miniture Picture inclosed. . . . I easily got over my disappointment on that Score when I found you had been arrived so Short a Time, but I own not receiving the Journal put me out of all Patience. How could you be so intolerable careless, — go trust a thing to that consequence upon the River; and then the four blank pages in your Letter, how can you answer that? . . .

But before I proceed any further in my resentment let me consider a little . . . Next letter I shall have Twenty thousand Opologys to make for writing in the manner I have done. At present I shall only beg that if you discover any Petulance in

what I have wrote you would ascribe it to my great warmth of affection. . . .

Only the following fragments of the journal referred to by Mrs. Barnes have been preserved, but these fragments, fortunately, carry us back to Unthank and Chesters.

Oct. 14th, 1769. I think myself sound in mind but very infirm in body. I am black and blue spots with tossing about the cabin. The poor Boscowen has had the wind ahead since Monday and a very high sea to struggle against. Betsy has been very sick and never had on her clothes till yesterday, when I obliged her to go on deck, where she had not been half an hour before she said she was dying. If you had seen her you would have thought so. The Captain took her in his arms and brought her down; she lay some time quite stupid. I poured some orange juice in her mouth, and she seemed to revive with the help of a little preserved ginger. In less than an hour she was able to eat some roast duck.

October 23rd. Our cheerfulness was of short duration. At six o'clock the wind blew like guns; the dead lights were put up and the gallery doors and windows taken down and dead lights put in their places. The sails were hauled and the vessel laid to.

October 24. We have had candles all day. Before four this morning the wind shifted and laid the Boscowen so much upon her side that she lay quite

still and alarmed all hands on deck. Others ran up in a moment, pulled the sails down and got her to rights. Tell Miss Caty she must not go to sea until she is more reconciled to death.

November 5th. I am set upon the highest part of the quarter deck to tell you how I feel on the near approach of the land of my nativity. You were afraid Betts would work too much ; she has done nothing but make her black petticoat. Bill and she seem in raptures at the thought of going ashore.

November 6th. We saw the Lizard yesterday afternoon at four o'clock. Fine wind and clear day.

November 7. We have had a terrible night. After getting in sight of the light house at Dungeness they were obliged to lay to, and as there was no prospect of the wind altering the Captain thought it not safe to put into Portsmouth. We set foot on land at half after ten o'clock, came to the tavern where we ate beefsteak and oysters for supper.

Hampton Court, Nov. 14th. We set out from Portsmouth on Sunday with three post chariots. In the foremost went Mentor¹ and Apollo (a nickname for another gentleman on board) with powder, shot, pistols and guns, expecting highwaymen. In the next Elizabeth and myself, and in the third the servants. We were agreeably disappointed that we had no occasion for Apollo's courage and met with nothing on the way that was entertaining. Bad roads, good taverns and provisions everywhere.

¹ Samuel Danforth of Cambridge.

During the winter, or for a portion of it, the travelers were at Dr. John Murray's in Norwich. In July they visited Scotland. The journal, after a lapse, continues : —

CHESTERS, July ye 19th, 1770.

I wrote to you Wednesday the 11 instant. We set out at Eleven o'Clock, got to Linn that night, had very fine weather & roads. On thursday at noon we arrived at Peterborough, viewed the Cathedral & the place where Queen Mary was buried. . . . Friday noon we called on Mr. Harrison. He was not come from London. We invited them to Scotland. Slept at York. In the morning viewed the Cathedral where we saw many curiositys. Yorick's great grandfather is there. I wished he had left me a legacy. From that we went to the Assembly room then to Breakfast. Slept at ——— dined at Perth, had fresh horses at Carlisle, came over the river Esk at 6 o'clock. This river divides England and Scotland. Here I had a Qualm come over me. My cousin observed it. He quited his English & talk'd Scot's in a very droll manner. We Slept at Langham, which was only 6 miles from Unthank where I was born. I asked the landlord many questions. I left that Country at six years old, but remembered names of places, and people; bid the driver stop and tell me when we came to them. Unthank I viewed, and the little rivulet where my Bro^r Will and I learnt our horn book.

When I came to the Dewslees I thought of my

first frind that I used to Weed the Water to see. She died at seven years old. I called in at a Sister of hers who was my brother's first love. This Scene was moving. I bid her look at me. She did so some time. Said she did not know me. I asked her if she remembered Bennie Atcheson. "Yes," says she, "that was my sister. I beg you'll tell me who you are." I said, "Betty Murray." She then Claspt me in her arms & cry'd most heartily ; led me to a chair saying, "My dear I'm glad to See you. Excuse my behaviour, but O our fathers & mothers. A sight of you brings many things to my mind. Where is your Brothers & Sister. Who is that with you? Step down to the road, my son, and ask them to Breakfast." I told her who they were, and ran out of the house. As we proposed to dine at Chesters we were in a hurry. I promised to spend some time with her this summer.

Next stage was Hawick. Langham Wolly drove to the house we used to live in. Here my mother died. I run over the house & remembered the room where I saw her a corps. While Breakfast was geting ready my cousin, Bets, & I went to the Kirk yeard where we saw the man that dug the grave. We walked about half an hour in that Melancholly place. Before we had done Breakfast I was called out to an old woman. "Pardon me," says she, "but the Saxton told me one of Mrs. Murray's daughters was in town. Are ye Mrs. Baby?"¹ "No, I'm Betty." She then flew to me. "My dear Betty,

¹ Barbara.

monne night ha ye lain in my arms in Suck in that room. Come up & I'll shew it to you." This woman told me of many of my school fellows and of our Mrs. —.

At twelve we set out and arrived at Chesters Monday, ye 16th July, before two. My aunt¹ met us in the Avenue, let Betts & I into the house & Said, "This is a day I have longed to see." She was more moved than I was. Jeany² was called. She entered to appearance unmoved, & continued in the Same way until the evening. She then was relieved by a flood of tears. It gives me pleasure to see her cry. She is strangely affected. Anny is at the — Beathing for the Rhumatism. They wrote to her that we would be here in a fortnight, that is the time she is ordered by the doctors to stay. On tuesday morne Tempenden & cousin Nanny came to See us. His lady had on blisters & was afraid of catching cold, beg'd we wou'd dine there. [Apparently the invitation was accepted.]

My Aunt & I in the chaise, Jeany & Uncle single, Betts behind her uncle Douglas. We spent an agreable day. . . . They returned the visit. My aunt & I left then in the afternoon and r'd to Stand Hill to See Coll. Trombull's widow and Aunt Stenhouse who was sick. Thursday Mr. Scott came to see us. Friday Auntie Stenhouse & Miss Stewart spent the day & slept here. Betts and Uncle Bennet dined at Tempenden Saturday. Mrs. Douglass

¹ The mother of James Murray's first wife.

² Jean Bennet.

is to come over for me to go to Jedburgh kirk the morn. I wont go. Ill go to Ancrum with my aunt.

Before I set out from Norwich I said you would like to be of the party, but I thought otherwise on the journey, for our post boys drove so furiously up hill and down that I often said to Betts, "This would not do for Mrs. Barnes." Now I wish for you. I am certain you would be delighted with this country and the reception you would meet with. This place and family is so natural to me it seems as if I had not been gone a year. My Aunt and Bob¹ has made great improvements, but all on my Uncle's plan. Tom Sword, my Uncle's waiting man, is eighty years old, lives in a house at the foot of the Avenue. His daughter Baby takes care of him under my Aunt's direction. He tells me many old stories that are very pleasing, crys over Betts, says, "O, my Bairn, how good your Mother was, gentle and simple, all loved her. I have seen 5 Lairds here."

Teviot parts this estate and Mr. Douglasses, and Stand-hill joins on the other side. Judge how agreeably we are situated. A fine season and the best crops that has been in this country for some time.

CHESTERS, Friday morn, July 27th.

Saturday Mrs. Stenhouse, Miss Stewart, Mr. Turnbull, Mr. & Mrs. Douglass and Mr. Elliot dined here. Sunday went to Ancrum kirk. According

¹ Robert Bennet, brother to Anne and Jean.

to custom took a ps. [piece] in our pouch. Took a walk by the burn side in Sir William Scot's park and eat our bread and cheese between sermons. Got home half after three, Mrs. Stenhouse with us. Had an elegant dinner and good stomachs. Betts sick with eating strawberrys and cream after sallad. They appeared so frightened that she burst out a crying. Uncle stood Doctor, and she soon recovered.

Monday. A fine day — walked to the mowers where they were cutting fine grass and said it would be two ton and a half of an acre. In the afternoon we viewed several of our old walks. These brought to Jeany's remembrance and mine some curious battles in our childhood and many promises of friendship when we were capable of that noble passion.

Tuesday 10 o'clock. Uncle, Jeany, Bets and E. S. set out for Newton Don, where we arrived at two and were received in the kindest manner. The good old lady seemed in raptures. I had not seen her these 23 years. It rained hard — we kept house all the afternoon. Wednesday her coach and chaise was tackled for us to take an airing and see all the curiositys of Kelso. Here she showed me where my Sister lived, talked much of her and the children especially Anny. The dinner bell was ringing when we got home. Sate down in our morning dress. After dinner dressed and altho' the grass was very wet her ladyship begged us to walk. We kilted our coats and followed her for half a mile to one of the finest falls of water in Scotland. The other side of

this water is Sir Robert Pringles estate. She conducted us around by the water side through a fine grove of young trees and some of her tennents houses. Saw a number of children. As they came near her she named them and asked them kind questions, patted their head, bid them put on their bonnet. This good woman is Doctor to all the poor folks for miles round. In difficult cases she advises with my Brother John and Doctor Rutherford.

Upon her arrival in Norwich Mrs. Smith had concerned herself with the future of her brother John's son and daughter, John and Mary. They were both to be sent to New England, to James's care, provided with a stock in trade like that which their aunt had begun life with.¹ The two young emigrants crossed the ocean safely and were welcomed by Mr. Murray at Brush Hill.

¹ NORWICH, March 23d, 1770.

We, Elizabeth Smith widow late of Boston, New England, now of Norwich and John Murray Doctor of Physic in Norwich aforesaid do hereby bind and oblige ourselves our Heirs, and Executors jointly and severally to Messers Bridgen and Waller, Merchants in London their Heirs and Executors to be accountable for and discharge all such sum or sums of money as they shall from time to time advance in goods in behalf and for the use of John the Son and Mary the Daughter of the said John Murray in consequence of orders now given or hereafter to be given by either or both of us as witness our Hands at Norwich this 23d March 1770.

Witness : ANNE BOYLES
VAL. BOYLES

Signed : JOHN MURRAY
ELIZ. SMITH

JAMES MURRAY TO ELIZABETH SMITH.

BRUSH-HILL, June 8th, 1770.

DEAR SISTER, — On Monday evening Capt. Jacobson arrived and on Tuesday morning Mr. Goldthwait who was so kind as to take care of our Niece and Nephew sent me up the Letters they brought. Your Sister went immediately to Town and brought them up in the Evening. They are very fine Children and I am as much pleased now that they are come as I was feared before about their coming, on Account of the factious Spirit now at a great height here, indeed it cannot rise much higher without the poor People, many of whom are almost starving for want of Employment, going to plunder the Rich and then cutting their throats. The Children I intend to keep here as I shall write the Doctor; their Goods will be easily disposed of if they can be got clear of the Clutches of the Sons of Liberty. How that is to be effected, Jacky Clark¹ is now going to town to consult and contrive. He came hither yesterday from Providence.

Mr. Goldthwait tells me, there are now seventy houses in town empty and like to continue so and the number even to increase. Among them is your Sugar house, Cotton House, and the two houses in King Street, formerly occupied by Butler, DeCher-eau and Pitcher. Mr. G—— has in vain offered them for less rent than they used to let at.

¹ John Innes Clark. He had come over from England to be apprenticed to Mr. Murray, but later went into business with Mr. Nightingale at Providence.

Betsey, during the greater part of her stay in Scotland, was at Mrs. Hamilton's boarding school in Edinburgh. There, in her letters, she is to be seen, busied occasionally with such serious studies as writing, music, and dancing; but oftener and more profitably at the play, or enjoying an assembly, while her aunt keeps her supplied with proper gowns, and rejoices in her when she sees her shining conspicuous by her beauty among the Edinburgh belles.

ELIZABETH MURRAY TO ELIZABETH SMITH.

January 4, 1771.

. . . When I came from Musilburgh, I received a message from Lady Philiphaugh desiring my company to dine there Saturday and another from Mrs. Brown of Eleston to go to the play with her the same night. I went to both. Mr. Charles Murray is arrived in London and is soon expected here. I am sure I am much obliged to that family. Miss Murray introduced me to Mrs. Brown, who takes a great deal of notice of me both by inviting me to her own house and to public places. Lady Philiphaugh is extremely kind to me, and thinks I never can come often enough to her house. The play and farse a Saturday was "The patron and the Author." A Wednesday I went to the Peers Assembly with Mrs. Hamilton and several of her young Ladies. It was a very brilliant one, a great many handsome women and very genteely dressed. There is to be no Assemblies this Winter, but a few such as the Queen's &c &c.

ELIZABETH MURRAY TO JEAN BENNET.

January 11, [1771.]

. . . I wrote my Aunt in my last that I went to the Peers assembly, but did not dance. There is to be one more this season, which is Friday next. Lamott is to have a Publick next Wednesday, so I believe I shall dance at the Queens Assembly. I was at the play last Saturday with Mrs. St. Clair. It was the Spanish Friar and the Apprentice. As for visiting I fear you will hear many complaints of me, for I seldom go abroad without being sent for. In the first place I have writing and Musick to attend in the forenoon, Lamott in the afternoon. I dont know one part of the town so am always obliged to hire a Cheur or run after a Cawde which quite discourages me from paying visits the little time I can spare.

The Auntie Stenhouse mentioned in the journal and letters was an aunt of the Bennet sisters. She rivaled Mrs. Barnes in the license given to her pen.

HELEN STENHOUSE TO DOROTHY FORBES.

MY DEAR DOLLY, — I^m Just now Come over from Stand hill on a viset to Grand ma, Aunt Smith & all y^r aunes, not forgetting honey Sister Bettzie who are all very well, & as throng as three in a bed. One makes up Capes ; an other flounceing a gown & pettycoat ; a third make a pin Cusheon, all to Cutt a figure at our Kellso Balls, which is upon y^e 10th Inst. Iⁿ warant many akeing heart theyⁿ leave when they

return home again. I suppose youⁿ soon have a letter from y^r Sister y^e Dutches of Roxeburgh, for I wont have her a husband in our Country under a Duke, mind that. And mind too that Auntie Stenhouse wont be pleased if you & y^r husband dont Come over to Stand god father & god mother to y^e young Duke. In truth, says ye, I think auntie Stenhouse is Just as Daft & frolicksome as she was when I left Scotland. Why & so I am. You know I^m but a young girl; only three Scor; thats all. I Expect to be a grand Aunt in a day or tow by y^r Aunt Douglass. I find y^r Lady Ship has made me a great grand aunt Some time ago.¹ How I Shoud Laugh to See my little Doll sitting w^h my Nephew, tuppling & Suckleing his Bottle. Well may you & he thrive, Say I; & when you writ to y^r friends here pray drop a line from y^r faer hand to old auntie Stenhouse, which I assure you I lay up amongst my favourd Epistles. I must now Conclude, as its drawing negh night & as I^m wife to a great farmer must get me home against the Cows be to milk to make y^e Cheas &c. My affect Compts to my Nephew Forbys, & doe give y^r little Suckling a kiss from Auntie Stenhouse. I ever am, My Dr Mad^m

Your most affect aunt

HELLEN STENHOUSE.

CHESTERS 4th Sep^r 1770.

Mr. Murray's next letter to his daughter confesses

¹ A letter from Mr. Murray to Mrs. Smith, of March 12, 1770, said, "I have received a letter of the 5th December from Mr. Forbes giving me the joyful news of Dolly's safe delivery of a son."

quite naïvely the home pressure which has sent him over seas. His sister's return to America and the emigration of Dr. John Murray's daughter Anne are also spoken of. During Mrs. Smith's absence and that of her brother her affairs, left in Mr. Goldthwaite's hands, had fallen into confusion, and her return was hastened by her desire to straighten them out.

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY FORBES.

LONDON, June 21st, 1771.

My DEAR DOLLY, — Yesterday I had the pleasure to receive your Letters of the 10th February, and on the 27th of last month Mr. Forbes' of the 12th March. These Letters I have been long looking for, having heard a great while ago of Capt. Oakes' safe arrival, but from your and your good mans Silence I inferred that you were not in Spirits and rather pitied than blamed you. For which reason I forbore writing you for some time after my Arrival here, that you might not have the *heavy* task of Answering letters or the Compunction for not answering them. However, I ventured to write Mr. Forbes last month by way of South Carolina, after Sister Smith, Betsey, Mrs. Barclay, her Daughter, Mr. Barnes and Anny Murray, the Doctor's second Daughter, had embarked for Casco bay in the Osterly-Lizard, a fine large Mast Ship which they preferred to a small Merchantman going directly to Boston.

Your Aunt's health is much better for her voyage

and journey to Scotland, with which both she and Betsey returned much pleased. Had your letters had any tollerable passage, they would have made your Aunt and Sister very happy, and you would have had long Letters from them ; for they are both become great Writers and keep up a large Correspondence, while your old father can scarcely and but rarely prevail on himself to write a few lines to those he loves the best.

Altho' I was silent on the Errand that brought me hither you might easily conjecture it. My Situation at Brush-hill was quite agreeable to me. You know I always liked a Country Life, but your Mamma in the early part of Life always lived in a town and liked it. The Retirement at Brush-hill, especially in the winter time, did not suit her taste. She saw Mr. Ben & Bob Hollywell,¹ Mr. Flucker,² and Brig'r Ruggles³ for being friends of Govern-

¹ Robert Hallowell of Boston was comptroller of the customs. In 1765 a mob "surrounded his elegant house in Hanover Street, tore down his fences, broke his windows, and, forcing the doors at last, destroyed furniture, stole money, scattered books and papers and drank of the wines in the cellar to drunkenness." Sabine's *Loyalists of the Am. Rev.*, vol. i. p. 508.

Benjamin Hallowell, brother of Robert, was commissioner of the customs. "In 1774, while passing through Cambridge in his chaise, he was pursued toward Boston by about one hundred and sixty men on horseback, at full gallop." *Ibid.*, p. 509.

² Thomas Flucker was the last secretary of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. *Ibid.*, p. 428.

³ Timothy Ruggles was brigadier-general in the war of 1755. As a lawyer and a supporter of the measures of the Ministry he was frequently opposed, in discussions, to Otis. In 1774 his house was attacked at night, and his cattle maimed and poisoned. He was "a wit and a man of rude manners and rude speech." *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 242.

ment get handsome places, and proposed that I, who had no less signalized myself on that side, should also exert myself and try my Luck and Interest. You, or at least Mr. Forbes knows how necessary it is to *keep peace at home*. For this end I, under all my aversion to return to the Bustle of Life, from a thorough sense of the vain Issue of it, and quite convinced at the same time of the awkward figure I should make at Court, a Theatre I had never been accustomed to, ventured to cross the Atlantic, imagining as every body in Boston did, that the affairs of that Province would come under the Consideration of Parliament as soon as the prospect of war vanished and that it would require no great degree of Interest or address or Merit to get in the Changes that might happen all I wanted. But on my Arrival I found American affairs were to be passed over in Silence and my Reception from some friends appeared colder than I expected. This set me in low Spirits, still lowered by an ugly wet winter, so I was sick of my Voyage. But the weather mending, my Sister and Betsey coming up so hearty, my health grew better, and I plucked up resolution to explain my Errand to some Friends in a manner I had not done for the two first months, and that with so much success as induced me to continue here in hopes that I shall not be forgot when any thing casts up, which I can aim at. If I am obliged at last to return, as Mr. Barnes¹ and many others have done, without any provision, I shall reap this advan-

¹ Henry Barnes of Marlborough.

tage at least by the voyage. Both your Mama and I feeling the Inconveniences of a Separation will be more patient under those we may meet with together.

My Presence here has already had one good effect. I have persuaded my Brother Will to sell out of the Army, by which he will have L. 2000 to dispose of at his death to such of Nephews or Nieces as stand most in need or favour. I expect him every day from Ireland, where he leaves the Regiment.

Your Uncle the Doctor says he is getting into better business than he had at first moving to Norwich. Two of the seven children he has left at home are in a dangerous way. He has now three in America.¹

Your Uncle Bennet is now a Lieut. in the first or Royal Regiment, and is gone with his Corps to Minorca for three years. Every body speaks well of him. In his Will he has left you and Betsey what would have been your Mamma's part of the Estate, which is now above L.300 a year; this your Aunt Smith learned at Chesters. Your Aunt Jeany is grown very tender. Both she and Anny were very fond of Betsey, and the sight of her has rivetted their affections to you both.

Not being able to visit my native country in the splendor that others who started with me have done, I have hesitated about making the tour, though I have had several pressing Invitations, but I believe I shall pluck up Resolution to take a glimpse of our friends there with brother Will.

¹ John, Mary, and Anne.

As I write you so seldom, and that (I have said) is partly your fault, I must not let this letter slip through my hands without being as particular as it may be. I shall enquire at Mr. Forbes's, Bedford Street, for your Mr. Forbes's brother and do him all the service I can. . . .

One of the best friends I have here is Gen. Mackay, who now has the Reg't quartered with you and with whom I may perhaps have influence to obtain any favor that may lie in our Mr. F's. way, tho' I shall and ought to be cautious of pressing him on too many sides at once. He tells me there is a Chaplain with his Reg't. . . .

If I cannot accomplish my business here in time to reach Boston before the Winter sets in, it will give me a fit opportunity of taking you up to Augustine, of going to Cape Fear to settle my affairs there, and from thence to proceed early in the Spring to Boston. But, like a Lover whose Courtship is known, I shall be loth to leave the Chase, if the game should hold out even till next Spring; beyond that period I will not persevere. I have a strict charge from your Mama not to go to Carolina without her, and she even threatens to come and carry me home if I do not come out with your Aunt. If she is in earnest in this, it will disconcert me not a little and cause my Departure in a hurry.

Your Sister (I must return to her) has been much improved at home, was at one of the best boarding schools in Edinburgh, has learned to sing and play

on the guitar, is grown very tall and so pretty as to be a conspicuous figure in an Ed^r. Assembly. . . .

I shall send some Shoes for your Son by Mr. Gordon, your Att'y General, who does not look unlike your old Mr. Gordon. But you ought to put no Stockings on the Child. If you cannot lay in a Stock of Resignation about the fate of your Child or Children, you will not only make yourself and every body about you unhappy by your Anxiety, but you will defeat the purpose you aim at, you will kill with kindness.

Mr. Bridgen, my friend, has an only daughter a child about five years, the heiress of a great fortune, who is now falling a sacrifice to the Doctors and Apothecarys in the whooping-cough, a distemper that seldom proves mortal to poor peoples children, who have free access to air and natures fare. . . .

My affectionate compliments to Mr. Forbes and thanks for his kind letter, to which I hope he will count this long letter an answer.

I am My Dear

Your most affectionate father

No sooner had Mrs. Smith arrived in Boston than Mrs. Barnes's surmises concerning her matrimonial outlook ran riot, and, as it proved, not without excuse.

MRS. BARNES TO ELIZABETH SMITH.

Aug. 5, 1771.

I dare say by this time you have a little leisure to look into your own affairs. Pray let me know if

the Gentleman was not extremely shok'd when you inform'd him his Ticket was a blank and in what manner you communicated the intelligence ; and I should like wise be glad to know whether your negotiations upon the Hill is like to take place. . . . I will not give you my sentiments upon it till I know whether you were in Jest or Earnest, but so far I will venture to say that I approve of no Hills but Milton Hill. Observe by the way that Cambridge is a flat country and when I exclude Hills that is out of the question. If you like the Situation . . . why I say Amen, but I think it is a little hard that I cannot be Present when all these affairs are in agitation. . . . It is not either a high or Low situation that will mend your constitution. Retirement and ease is what you at present stand in need of, and in order to procure that you must fix upon some worthy Person who will relieve you from the fatigues and cares of life or at least share them with you. Perhaps you will say the remedy may be as bad as the disease.

Bad or not, it was a remedy that Mrs. Smith had resolved to try. She did, undoubtedly, feel the need of assistance, and her marriage to Ralph Inman, a wealthy retired merchant of Boston, took place in September of the same year. Although anticipated in a measure by Mrs. Barnes, the step was a surprise to Dr. John.

DR. JOHN MURRAY TO ELIZABETH INMAN.

NORWICH, November 9th, 1771.

DEAR SISTER : — On the 30th of last month your affectionate favour of 23d September came safe to hand, which informed us of your intention to re-enter into a married state, your general reasons for that step and your future plan of life.

As our children had not mentioned anything of this event, and you said the news of it had given them a shock, I must own that I was a little affected on their account, and I believe your Sister more than me, although she took but little notice of it.

Upon mature deliberation, I am inclined to approve this change of life after your return to America ; for having heretofore appeared as a person of consequence there, it would ill-brook our family spirit to be degraded to a kind of nothingness without a home or family.

The chief reason of my supposing that you would remain single, exclusive of your attachment to the interest of our Children, was the difficulty of finding an object every way worthy of your choice ; yet from what I remember, or have heard from you and others of Mr. Inman, I make no doubt of your being as happy in this as in any of your former matrimonial connexions. On this agreeable event, therefore, your Sister most sincerely joins me in wishing both Mr. Inman and you much joy and all manner of happiness for the remainder of your lives.

With regard to your private affairs, as the concern was principally your own, you certainly had a

right to dispose of them as you thought proper ; and the method you have taken, I must think the best, as it is acting with your usual generosity and confidence, which will naturally meet with an equal return.

I and my family having already got so much we have no right to expect, far less to claim, more. Therefore whatever future favours you shew to me or mine ought and shall be attributed to your and Mr. Inman's affection and benevolence.

My Path is still strewed with thorns, for difficulties of one kind or another continually spring up as others are surmounted ; but as it has ever been my study faithfully to discharge the various duties of life, and Providence has most wonderfully supported me in my several exigencies, I have no reason to doubt of the continuance of its protection and support.

Those principles which I have found useful for my own conduct in life, and have instilled into the elder branches of my family with your approbation, I shall as far as lies in my power inspire the younger with, who hitherto promise to fall nothing short of their predecessors. Therefore I hope they will in due time become equally worthy of your regard and agreeable to society.

We write by this conveyance to our children, whose interest, I dare say, will suffer nothing from the late step you have taken, while their behavior and conduct continue to merit your notice and en-

couragement. Yet you will forgive me, if I own that I now and then feel a Pang for them. Oh my Children! Orphans in a Strange Land! what will become of you, if Providence should remove your Aunt or any Cause alienate her affection? Thou God of my Fathers and his Childrens Youth! vouchsafe also to be the God and the Guide of his Grandchildren.

I continue to draw quarterly upon Messrs Bridgen & Waller for the usual sum, but have been obliged to anticipate a quarter on account of extraordinary expenses in removing into a new House, of which I wrote a slight description in my last to our Girls. I am sorry to find that the Norwich Manufactory does not answer at Boston, yet Mr. Elliot and Mr. Emery have sent some good Orders to Messrs Brett & Co. Mr. Day is at Holland, so have not seen him since your last came to hand. My Business rather mends, but an illiberal Jealousy has arisen in a quarter I did not expect.

Charlotte goes to dancing and writing school, improves a pace and grows tall. Bettsy and Charles are much better, but not well. Jemmy is tender. The rest of the Children are in good health, desire their duty to their Uncle and Aunt Inman, and thanks for their cake and gloves. Our friends at Wells are much the same as usual, only Sister Nanny is like to be lame. Your Sister, whose health is still precarious, desires to join in Love to you and Brother Inman, to whom I write, to our other Con-

nexions, and Compliments to all friends with Dear Sister,

Your most obliged and affectionate Brother,
JOHN MURRAY.

P. S. Our Brothers are in London.

Early in 1773, Mr. Murray, accompanied by his wife, made a journey to the South, and put into effect the long-cherished plan of persuading his daughter to visit her old home. Mrs. Forbes's health had suffered visibly during her stay in St. Augustine. Remembering the fate of her mother, Mr. Murray was strenuous in his advice to her to resort to change of air, and she prepared to travel northward with her two sons, James Grant, a child of three years of age, and John, then little more than an infant. At the last moment Mr. Forbes could not decide to let the older boy go, and she was obliged to proceed without him. Moreover, her father was unexpectedly detained in the South by business, and his plan of escort failed. She was, however, a woman equal to every emergency, and her long journey was undertaken with only a maid-servant and a slave, Juba, to care for herself and her little boy.

JAMES MURRAY TO ELIZABETH INMAN.

ST. AUGUSTINE, April 27th, 1773.

DEAR SISTER, — Your Brother and Niece having been unavoidably detained here much longer than we expected was convenient for one in her situation,

we are glad to send her and the children by a fine transport ship bound hence to New York ; whence she will take the first conveyance for Rhode Island. I trust in God she will get to Brush-hill in good time, where I need not desire you to make everything as convenient for her as may be. I have said children, but Mr. Forbes is so wrapt up in his eldest son who is indeed a very fine boy, that he cannot find resolution to part with him.

I return this week by water to Charlestown, thence as I can to Cape Fear and thence after putting my affairs in the best posture I can, to make the best of my way with your Sister homeward — vain would be any hint for her to stay in Carolina — the more she sees of other places, the more fond she is of Boston and its Neighbourhood. Remember me affectionately to Mr. Inman, Betsey and the rest of the young folks.

I am most gratefully Dear Sister

Yours

Mrs. Forbes's letter from New York, which follows, is brief, but very expressive of the inconvenience of the uncertain means of travel, and of her urgent need to be at her destination.

NEW YORK, May 10th, [1773].

MY DEAR AUNT, — I arrived here with my little Boy, Juba and a maid Servant on Friday last and am very much distressed that I cannot get an opportunity for Rhode Island till Wednesday next as

the Small-pox is very much in this place—I fear my Boy may get it. My papa desired me to send for his carriage to meet me; if it is not convenient I hope you will be so good as write a few lines and leave at Mr. Clarks in Providence for me where I hope wind and weather permitting to be on Saturday or Sunday and indeed it is full time I should be at my journeys end, as the post is just going I have only time to add my respectful compliments to Mr. Inman and love to my Sister and Cousins.

I am my Dear Aunt,

Your dutiful & much obliged Niece

Hastily written on the same sheet with this letter, but added, evidently, after its receipt in Massachusetts, are directions which follow, from Mrs. Inman to the household at Brush Hill:—

“Dear Ladys see that Jack fits up the carriage properly for Providence. I shall bring Bill with me to set out on Wednesday afternoon. Pray boil Barley and Corn for the horses and feed them well. I shall bring Mrs. Forbes directly to Brush-hill I hope on Saturday. Go on slowly in cleaning your house, put up no Curtains till I see you. Pray let the Barley and Corn be boiled till it is split and cool it before you give it to the horses. Give them two quarts each twice a day. Measure it—after it is boiled a little salt in it. If Jack has time he may clean the yard.”

She would not allow her niece to make the fatiguing last stage of the expedition alone, but went her-

self to Providence and fetched her safe home. There she arrived, spent, indeed, and anxious, but still in time to give her third son, Ralph Bennet Forbes, the right to call himself Massachusetts born.

CHAPTER IV

A TORY IN REVOLUTIONARY BOSTON

1765-1778

THE political turmoil in the midst of which Mr. Murray had found himself upon his removal to Boston in 1765 filled him with surprise and dismay. The Stamp Act had just been passed, obnoxious duties were being enforced, trade and manufactures were suffering, and the town was in a ferment of wrath and opposition. He had hoped, on leaving North Carolina, that he was turning his back upon rebellion, but here he had alighted upon the very seat of disorder. For it was as disorder, first and foremost, that the movement presented itself to him.

It has been said that Mr. Murray never became a thorough-going American. The strong family ties that bound him to the old country, in which he had himself grown to man's estate, must at best, even had he possessed a less conservative temper, have divided his allegiance. By force of circumstances as well as of inclination it was inevitable that in North Carolina, and afterwards in Massachusetts, his associates should have been those whose sympathies and prejudices were upon the English side.



ELIZABETH MURRAY (MRS. INMAN)

The Boston of the patriots, of James Otis, John Hancock, and "the brace of Adamses," he never knew.

Yet he was not incapable of taking a broader view than did many of those in whose company he found himself. As far back as 1755 he had written of a general union of the colonies as "a step in the scheme of Providence for fixing in time an empire in America." He had no resentment against the Stamp Act, which he declared to be "a necessary spur" to the industry of the colonies; but he was so far from being blind to the logic of the future that he affirmed: "In process of time this extensive, fertile territory, cultivated as it will be by millions of people, healthy and strong, must by the nature of things preponderate." Perhaps even then he did not contemplate as desirable, or even possible, the severance of the ties between them. At any rate, he did not recognize, in the grotesque demonstrations which he saw around him, any indication that America's hour of preponderance or independence had struck; nor could he see in the simultaneous rioting throughout the colonies the beginnings of a union. Even the protest which found expression in pamphlets and in the press, in resolves and remonstrances, had little significance for him. The meaning of the discontent, the strength of the resentment, he did not gauge; nor could his conservative, practical mind have been expected to read in the signs of the times the future which was hidden from the eyes of the men who moulded it.

The epithet of Tory was given in opprobrium. And among the Tories there were doubtless some who had chosen their side from motives of mere self-interest. Of such were many of the office-holding class. Others were Tories because of their love of peace and a quiet life, and because of their natural shrinking from the excess and violence that characterized the acts of those who styled themselves Patriots. Still others, and these deserved to be called Loyalists rather than Tories, took the British side because they could not sever connections with the old home. A few there were who were Tories from pure patriotism, by reason of their conviction that rebellion meant ruin to America. Of these Thomas Hutchinson was the most distinguished example. James Murray cannot, indeed, be called a Tory of the Hutchinson type, and yet he shared completely Hutchinson's conviction that the best interests of America were being sacrificed by the very men who maintained that they were asserting her rights. And although, like all those who sided with the King, he incurred suspicion and hatred, he never, to the end of his life, could see himself as an enemy to the land he had helped to build.

His own grievances might well have disaffected him. He had entered the sugar business, — from which Mr. Smith had retired, — only to find that particular branch of industry sadly crippled. But it was impossible to shake his loyalty. In July, 1765, he wrote to his brother John : —

“All your friends here are well, but in great

dread with others of being cramped in their Commerce and drained of their money by the late parliamentary Regulations, which point more particularly at the ruin of the Sugar Refiners, as well by the increase of the Bounty at home, as of the Duties here. At the worst, '*Me silva cavusque tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo.*' My own fate or fare, at this time of life, I am not solicitous about. I should rejoice indeed, if it pleased Providence by a moderate share of Industry on my part to render me useful to my connexions, and particularly to enable me to acquit myself of my obligations."

Very soon after this the partnership into which he had entered with Mr. Head was dissolved, the sugar-house was shut up, and his business was at an end. The refinery was reopened a year later, but it was then merely a forlorn hope, managed by him with but a single assistant in the counting-room, his young nephew, John Innes Clark. John and his brother Thomas, it may be said here, had come over from England shortly before the year 1765.

The summer of 1765 saw the sacking of Hutchinson's Boston house, when his property was carried off or destroyed, and his valuable manuscripts were scattered to the winds. The letter which follows was written by Mr. Murray in November of that year, but it is singularly free from condemnation of the excesses of the time.

JAMES MURRAY TO DR. JOHN MURRAY.

BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND, Nov. 13, 1765.

You will have heard long before this reaches you what a Spirit the Stamp Act has raised in these Colonies, which for want of power on the part of the Crown to check it in these three great Towns, Boston, York, Philadelphia, has gone very great Lengths indeed, particularly at New York. The multitude, among which are many men of figure and fortune, imagine that such proceedings will surely procure a Repeal of the Act and prevent further imposition ; while a few, they call them the base few, are silently of opinion that these late feats will not only rivet the Act in question, but bring the Colonies under a much stricter government than ever they have yet felt. The Truth is, we are the Children of a most indulgent Parent who has never exerted her authority over us, till we are grown almost to manhood and act accordingly ; but were I to say so here before our Chief Ruler, the Mob, or any of their adherents, I should presently have my house turned inside out.

The Stamp Act, so far from being a hurt to the Colonies, which they pretend to be unable to bear, will be a necessary Spur to their Industry. The Difficulty will be to keep that Industry from being employed on articles that will interfere with the Mother Country, and so to preserve the Benefit & dependence of America to Britain as long as may be : but in the process of time, this extensive, fertile territory, cultivated as it will be by millions of people healthy and strong, must by the Nature of things

preponderate. Our comfort is that period seems to lie far beyond our day. Enough of politics. Let us leave them to abler heads.

I told you in my Letter of July that the late acts bore hard on the sugar business: these, and the short Crops in the West Indies, have prevented the Importation of raw sugars here, and have in course shut up the sugar houses, and ours among the rest. This loss is like soon to be made up to me by the Demise of my Wife's Mother, who lies at the point of death; by this about L. 1500 Sterling will fall to our share, the Interest of which will support us in the Silva which I spoke of, for I think it is time for me, all circumstances considered, to leave off bustling for the world.

When the Stamp Act was repealed, and the Smith-Paddock elms, Tories though they were, blazed with lanterns in the general rejoicing, he still held the attitude of judicial and hopeful spectator. To such men as he, men who were averse to partisanship, and whose interests centred wholly within the domestic circle, yet who could take a large impersonal view of passing events, the inevitable ban under which, as Tories, they afterward fell, bore all the sting of injustice.

JAMES MURRAY TO DR. JOHN MURRAY.

N. E. BOSTON, June 21, 1766.

I begin with informing you that in March last I resumed without a Partner the Sugar business, in

hopes to save at least my Expenses of living in town, but how it will turn out I cannot guess till the end of the year. Your nephew J. I. Clark proves a very useful hand in that trade, and I hope in due time will be able to Carry it on with benefit to himself.

Tommy goes on with moderate success in his business,¹ . . . Although there are some Symptoms of our political Constitution and the morals on which it depends being on the decline, I do not think we are yet in Foci Romuli. If the authority of the Crown and measures of Government are the Sport of faction, there is no help for that. Our Disease is the Power of the People, who blindly devolve it on an artful Demagogue. If at his Instigation they have erred in the Repeal, they are making some atonement

¹ Thomas Clark had learned the watchmaker's trade in England, and having come to this country was practicing it in Boston. In 1767 he gave it up, and went to take charge of Mr. Murray's estate in Cape Fear.

James Clark, his elder brother, had before this had the care of the property; he now paid a visit to his uncle in Boston, and afterward, in 1769, returned to Wilmington. The Cape Fear estate was in 1767 valued by Mr. Murray at nearly £3000. Besides Point Repose, which he estimated at £2000, he had mill lands which he estimated at £500, lots in Wilmington at £250, and other lots and lands at Rockfish. In 1776, or sometime thereafter, owing to his adherence to the English side, the whole of Mr. Murray's property was confiscated. It was then claimed by Thomas Clark, who presented an account for more than the assessed value of the property, and it was ultimately by an act of the legislature made over to him. Mrs. Forbes in 1784 went to Wilmington to recover, if she could, some of her patrimony, but without success. She did not even see her cousin, who wrote from his plantation that floods prevented his leaving his estate to visit her in Wilmington, but that if she could come to him he would be happy to see her, and did not doubt of being able to convince her that he had acted for the best in what he had done.

by proper Regulations of trade. By the Lord's Protest it is plain the circumstances of the Colonies and the Consequences of the Repeal are understood and foreseen. Mr. Se'ry C-n-y may talk of the Lenity & magnanimity of the K. & Pt. shewn in the Repeal; but we believe the true motives were the madness of the people here, magnified at home, put the merchants in fear of their Souls, I mean their purses. The merchants terrified the Tradesmen and trading towns, they plied their members, who toward the Conclusion of a Parliament durst not but bend; the money Interest worked on the ministry, and perhaps the ministry's good will to their predecessors operated a little the same way. Thus they lost for fear of loosing, as you have known Patients die from fear of dying. Enough of Politics. Let us return to the fire Side.

The sentiment slowly rising in Massachusetts against slavery was to lovers of the established order but another instance of the leveling tendency of the time, akin to the outcry of the Patriots for liberty and equality. To Messrs. Duncan and Ancrum of South Carolina, Mr. Murray wrote, July 6, 1765 :¹ —

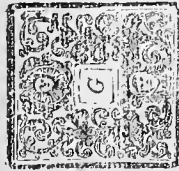
“This incloses Bill of Lading & Invoice for a Negro Wench and a few Goods, which you will dispose of to the best advantage for my Acc^t, and the three pieces of silk for Mr. Wm. Corbell's acc^t. The

¹ Dr. John Murray, in England, however, was the author of a pamphlet entitled “On the Gradual Abolition of Slavery.”

Wench was Mr Hooper's. I am well assur'd of her Honesty & that she understands plain cookery, roast & boild, can wash & Iron, and is about 37 years of age. The Reason of her being sent off is her taking to drinking, which the lenity used to Negroes here cannot curb." In March, 1767, he wrote to the same correspondents: "Send me Dennis or some other Clever sedate boy some time in May at farthest. After that time the Importation of negroes here will probably be prohibited."

When "Sam Adams's two regiments," sent by Gage from New York, arrived in Boston and were refused shelter in various places under the control of the patriots, Mr. Murray came forward, and the sugar-house was opened to them for barracks. Thenceforth "Murray's barracks," or "Smith's barracks," as they were indiscriminately called, were a source of irritation to the town. Moreover, his willingness to lodge British soldiers and a free hospitality shown to British officers, — General Mackay¹ and others were frequently at his house, — marked Mr. Murray as a "King's man." His appointment, in 1768, as justice of the peace, drew him still further into public notice. Popular displeasure, in fact, so far distinguished him as to make him, in the autumn of the next year, the victim of a

¹ The *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. xlviii. p. 433, in a list of British officers serving in America, 1754–1774, mentions the Hon. Alexander Mackay as having received his commission as major-general in April, 1770. There are some indications in the letters that he was related to Mrs. Murray.



GEORGE the Third,
By the Grace of GOD, of
Great-Britain, France, and
Ireland, KING, Defender
of the Faith, &c.

To all unto whom these Presents shall
come; Greeting.

Know Be, That We have assigned and con-
assign, constitute and appoint, Our Trusty and well
beloved *James Murray Esquire* to
be one of Our Justices to keep Our Peace in the
County of Suffolk, in our County of the
Maidenhead County of New Hampshire

And to keep and cause to be kept, the Laws and Ordinances made for the Good of the
Peace and for the Conservation of the same, and for the Quiet, Rule and Government of
Our People in the said County, in all and every the Articles thereof according to the Force
Form and Effect of the same, and to chastise and punish all Persons offending against
the Form of those Laws and Ordinances or any of them in the County aforesaid, as accord-
ing to the Form of those Laws and Ordinances shall be fit to be done; And to cause to
come before him the said *James Murray* all those that shall break the

Proc. of Mass. James
Bay 9
Nov. 1768 } County of
Declarat.
Oath 29
for the ca

Security, then to cause fate in Prison until they shall find the same;
 and to do and perform in the County aforesaid, all and whatsoever, according to the
 Laws and Ordinances of our said Province, or any of them, a Justice of the Peace may
 and ought to do and perform *and without further notice to the said* (according to the Tenour of the
 Commission to them granted) to enquire by the Oaths of good and lawful Men of our
 said County, by whom the Truth may be the better known, of all and all manner of
 Thefts, Trespases, Riots, Routs and unlawful Assemblies whatsoever, and all and
 singular other Misdemeanors and Offences of which by Law Justices of the Peace in their
 General Sessions may and ought to enquire, by whomsoever or howsoever done or per-
 petrated, or which shall hereafter happen, howsoever to be done or attempted in the
 County aforesaid, contrary to the Form of the Laws and Ordinances aforesaid, made for
 the common Good of our Province aforesaid and the People thereof; *and without other*

our Justice of the Peace in the said County *and*
 according to the Tenour of the Commission to them granted as aforesaid) to hear and
 determine all and singular the said Thefts, Trespases, Riots, Routs, unlawful Assemblies,
 and all and singular other the Premises, and to do therein as to Justice appertaineth,
 according to the Laws, Statutes and Ordinances aforesaid.

In Testimony whereof, We have caused the publick Seal of our Province of the
 Massachusetts-Bay aforesaid, to be hereunto affixed: **Witness** *Francis Bernard*
our Lieutenant General and Governor in Chief of Our said Province
at Boston the 26. day of Oct. 1765. in the ninth year of our said

*James Sullivan Esq. Command
 in Chief of the County
 of the said Province*

my Sign, appointed a Justice of the Peace for the
 County aforesaid, and subscribed by the said Justice
 and by the said Justice of the Peace, and by the said Justice of the Peace,
 and by the said Justice of the Peace, and by the said Justice of the Peace,
 and by the said Justice of the Peace, and by the said Justice of the Peace,

*James Sullivan Esq. Command
 in Chief of the County
 of the said Province*

Commission of Peace
 for the County of Suffolk
 to James Murray

mob, small, certainly, but exclusively his own. He has given a humorous account of it.¹

JAMES MURRAY TO ——— OF NEW YORK.

BOSTON, September 30th, 1769.

No doubt, Sir, you have seen, in the public papers, the story of the quarrel between Mr. Robinson and Mr. Otis, on the 5th inst. In that affair Mr. W. S. Brown happened to strike Mr. Gridley, who, interfering in behalf of Mr. Otis, had seized

¹ Mr. Murray's letter opens with a reference to the quarrel between James Otis and John Robinson. This is described by S. G. Drake as follows : —

"A very unfortunate affair happened on the fifth of September, at the British Coffee house in King Street, which was a rencontre between James Otis and John Robinson. The latter was one of the Commissioners of the Customs, who, Mr. Otis believed, had deeply injured him by misrepresenting his motives for his political course. He believed also, and probably with good reason, that Robinson, with other Crown officers in Boston, had endeavored to have the leading Patriots, and particularly himself, prosecuted for treason and sent to England for trial. . . . The quarrel was carried into the papers of the day, and resulted in a fight, disgraceful to both parties.

"Mr. Otis, it seems, went to the coffee house by appointment, where he met Robinson, who began the assault upon him. Others, friends of the former, joined in the assault, and Otis was severely handled, being cut in the head and otherwise wounded. . . . Mr. Otis appears to have gone to the Coffee house unattended by friends, while the other party was well provided by the presence of several officers of the army and navy. A young man named John Gridley happened to be passing the coffee house, and, being a friend of Otis, he went to his assistance, but he was roughly handled, and soon put out of the house. The matter was carried into court, where it was kept for about four years." S. G. Drake, *History of Boston*, p. 770. The jury finally brought in a verdict in favor of Mr. Otis for £2000 damages.

Otis never fully recovered from the effects of this assault.

Robinson was a son-in-law of James Boutineau, afterward a refugee, who had married one of Peter Fanenil's sisters.

Mr. Robinson, and torn his coat. For this crime, he, Mr. Brown, was unjustly charged through the town with having attacked Mr. Otis himself, while engaged with Mr. Robinson, and was, therefore, to be treated with the utmost rigor. In order to this he was apprehended on the 6th by a peace officer and carried late in the evening before two justices, Messrs. Dana and Pemberton, in Faneuil Hall, where a multitude assembled.

I, taking a walk in the Town House that evening, was told of this by Mr. Perkins, and, consulting my feelings for another's distress more than my own safety, went directly to the Hall to attend the proceedings.

Soon as the multitude perceived me among them, they attempted repeatedly to thrust me out, but were prevented by Mr. Mason, one of the selectmen, calling out, "For shame, gentlemen, do not behave so rudely." Then, lending me his hand, helped me over the door into the selectmen's seat. Before I got down from the seat I was hiss'd. I bowed. I was hiss'd again, and bowed around a second time. Then a small clap ensued. Compliments over, I sat down. The justices asked me up to the bench. I declined. The examination of some evidence was continued, and, being finished, the justices thought fit to bind over Mr. Brown. He lookt about for bail. No one offered but I. Here I desired the justices to take notice that I did not mean by this offer to vindicate what Mr. Brown had done, but only to stand by him now the torrent

was against him. The recognizance taken, the justices desired the people to disperse, for that Mr. Brown had complied with the law ; but the crowd, intending more sport, still remained.

As I was pressing out next to Mr. Dana, my wig was pulled off, and a pate, clean shaved by time¹ and the barber, was left exposed. This was thought a signal and prelude to further insult, which would probably have taken place but for hurting the cause. Going along in this plight, surrounded by the crowd, in the dark, Lewis Gray took hold of my right arm and Mr. William Taylor of my left, and supported me, while somebody behind kept nibbling at my sides and endeavoring to trip me ; for the pleasure, as may be supposed, of treading the reforming justice out of me by the multitude. Mr. Deblois threw himself in my rear, and suffered not a little in my defence. Mr. G. Hooper went before, and my wig, disheveled, as I was told, was borne on a staff behind. The gentlemen, my friends and supporters, offer'd to house me near the Hall, but I insisted on going home in the present trim, and was by them landed in safety, Mr. Gray and others having continually thus admonished my retinue in the way, "No violence, or you'll hurt the cause."

I did not intend to trouble even you, my intimate friend, with this minute detail, much less to publish what I thought no credit to the town ; but our Liberty lads have such a rage for publication that everything must go to the press and be seen through

¹ Yet he was only fifty-six years old.

their distorted medium, even though it should in the end hurt their cause.

To provoke me to this, they have mentioned in a last Monday's paper a late insult, for which, you know, honorable satisfaction has been demanded and given, with a spirit and generosity which none of the nameless scandal-mongers for the papers of Edes and Bell, and Fleet, are possessed of. I am, &c.

On the fifth of March, 1770, after much provocation on both sides, came the outbreak between the soldiers and the crowd, known in history as the Boston Massacre.

To Mrs. Smith, who was then abroad, — for this chapter has not yet overtaken in time the close of the previous one, — her brother gave a long and remarkably accurate account of the occurrence.

JAMES MURRAY TO ELIZABETH SMITH.

BRUSH-HILL, March 12th, 1770.

Since I wrote you on the 19th of last Month I have had the pleasure of your Letter and Duplicate of the 7th Dec. and of Bettzy's Letters accompanying them. It gives us great pleasure, you may be sure, to hear your health is so much better than when you left us, and that was at a good time, for it would have given you pain to have continued in or near the Turbulent Town of Boston. Had it not been for the two Regiments there, the Mobbing would have been greater and more general than in the year 1765. The Restraint that these were might

be a principal Cause that the Soldiers were so often insulted and abused, and to heighten that abuse the news papers bragged how they were conquered. Ill-humour thus worked up on both sides, — the mob assembled in King Street this day se'ennight about eight o'Clock in the Evening, insulted the Sentry on his post at the Custom house (Apthorp's house). Notice of this was sent to the Main Guard. Preston, of the 29, the Captain of the Day, came with a party of eight men to the Relief of the Sentry. The Mob still crowded and abused them, some of them calling out repeatedly, "Fire, why don't you fire," till at length five or six Muskets were fired singly and successively, which killed as many men and wounded several, but none of note except Mr. Edward Payne who is like to do well. This you may be sure set the People in a great fury not being used to such skirmishes. The Lieut. Gov'r came up to the Council Chamber, spoke mildly to the people from the window, told them to disperse and he would see Justice done on the Guilty. He sat with the Counsellors and some of the Justices till three o'clock next morning, sent for Col. Dalrymple and Col. Carr, had the former's order for Captain Preston, who surrendered, was examined and committed to Prison, as were the Soldiers of the Party that fired. Five or six witnesses swear that Preston bid his men fire. Others swear that he did *not*, and say that if the firing had been by order it would not have been by single muskets. Be it as it will, there will be little Chance for him and his Men with enraged, preju-

diced Juries. The King's Mercy must be their only hope. At this Conference¹ of the L. Gov'r, Council and Colonels, the Gov'r by the unanimous advice of the Council directed the Colonel to remove the two Regiments from the Town to the Castle, which was agreed to. Mr. Sam. Adams told Col. Dalrymple in public (when he offered to send off the 29th, which had given the offence, and reserve the 14th) that if he kept either, it must be at his own peril. Upon this the several posts of Sentries in the town were called in, the main guard given up, the two Regiments confined to their Barracks, and some dispositions made for removing them to the Castle, where two Companies of the 29th were actually sent last week, and the Townsfolks were waiting with impatience for the embarkation of all the rest. They were beginning to dread that their Removal would be postponed till the Colonel heard from the General. I should have told you that the Council, when they advised the Gov'r to order the Regiments away (for it seems he has the right to order them when there is not an Officer superior to the Colonel in Command), [said] that they, the Counsellors, would be responsible for the peace of the Town if the Troops were out. But the Commissioners would not have choosed to trust to such security, they would have gone off with the Regiments, and nobody can blame them, for every falsehood is used to render them odious to and suspected by the People. They were not only charged by Insinuation with the mur-

¹ That of the day following the massacre must be meant.

der of the boy who was killed when the Mob was at Richardson's ; but now Andrews, your former Carpenter, has been employed to examine by the holes of the Balls on the South side of King Street and the direction of them, whence it must have proceeded, and it is given out that some of the Shot was from the upper Windows of the Custom-house by Green's Son, hired for that purpose. . . .

P. S. — I will not answer for the Authenticity of every article of the above, for in my short Interviews with the best Authorities they were on the Reserve, and did not think it became me to be inquisitive.

BOSTON, March 14th.

Of both Regiments, the 29 is already gone to the Castle, the 14th are going. Your Barrack is clear, but not yet given up. The Com'rs are again to decamp, and affairs are in great Confusion here under the thin covering of an outward Calm. Mr. Comm'r Robinson,¹ who carries this, goes home to represent all these things in their proper light.

Your old Brother intends to follow your advice to live well and cheerfully and as quietly as the Business of his Friends will permit him. Adieu.

In the box to Col. Harrison are the news papers to this day.

Mr. Murray was now in the midst of things, and deeply concerned for the safety of Captain Preston. He wrote to Hutchinson expressing his fear that the people would do some injury to Preston, and received

¹ The same who was in the Otis affray.

in reply a reassuring note, which is printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society.¹ He also sent to Colonel Dalrymple, who commanded one of the regiments, the following communication.

JAMES MURRAY TO COLONEL DALRYMPLE.

MILTON, August 27th, 1770.

SIR, — I am just now honored with your letter of this date, and at your Desire readily excuse your not sooner acknowledging the Receipt of mine of the 27th of last month. In that letter I took the Liberty to suggest that after much pains taken to prejudice the People of Boston against Captain Preston there was too much room to suspect he would pass his time but badly, at and after his trial; that I was well convinced of his Innocence, Zealous for the peace and Credit of the town, and should be sorry to hear of any violence against him; that I should be ready, as a Civil Magistrate, to escort, I should have said to be escorted by, a party of two hundred men of your Regiment with their Officers to Town, there to remain in Smith's Barrack during his Trial and to the Issue of it; that a Sentry from the Top of the House could see or hear a Signal from the Goal; that no mortal knew of the proposal and that it did not seem to me necessary that any should know it, but General Gage and you, Sir, and Capt. Preston for his peace of mind. I have recapitulated, because you say that you sent the Letter to the General after communicating it to the Lieut. Governor.¹ I should have been glad indeed when you saw this

¹ Vol. v. of the Second Series, p. 361.

² Thomas Hutchinson.

Step necessary of showing it to His Hon'r, that you had been pleased to give me an opportunity of mending my letter, in that Respect. My not mentioning His Hon'r proceeded from no Disrespect to him; but Experience had convinced me that such an Offer from me would not avail with him, unless previously recommended by the General.

In this day's Letter you are pleased to signify that part of your Orders and Instructions are "to be aiding and assisting to the Civil Magistrate in the Execution of Laws and in repressing violences whenever you receive a Regular Requisition for that purpose." What greater Violences in any state, tollerably civilized, can be committed than what have lately been committed in Boston? which violences I do in my Conscience believe will be crowned with the Murder of Captain Preston, if there is no military force to support a Magistrate and the Laws for his protection. In this firm belief I do require of you such an aid as I before mentioned, and fear not we shall all behave on the Service so as to obtain the Approbation of God and all good men.

This requisition, being made without the participation or even privity of the Lieut. Governor, cannot be disagreeable to his Honor, as he will not be answerable for the Consequences should they prove unfortunate. I have the Honor to be with much Respect Sir, Your most obedient Servant

Mr. Murray's letter was undeniably a requisition upon the colonel for soldiers to form a guard, but soldiers were in such disfavor that it was probably

thought prudent to let the town-meeting provide for a guard, which it did. A guard was appointed and kept watch nightly during the Preston trial, the civil magistrates by turns taking their share of the vigils.

The difficulties of Mr. Murray's friend, John Mein, are a matter of history ; yet, for the purpose of illustrating Mr. Murray's relation to passing events, they may be briefly recounted here. Mr. Mein, of the firm of Mein & Fleming, and publisher in 1768-70 of "The Chronicle," was one of the leading booksellers in Boston. His paper, neutral at first, afterwards took up vigorously the cause of the Tories. On the 28th of October, 1769, as he was passing up King Street to his office, he was attacked by a crowd of furious young men and boys and forced to fly for protection to the main guard near by. So insulting and violent were his persecutors in demanding him of the soldiers, and so rapidly did their numbers increase, that the two regiments were ordered to arms.¹ It was soon after this ex-

¹ In a procession celebrating "Pope's Day," November 5, in this same year, Mr. Mein's effigy was carried through the streets to Copp's Hill, where it was solemnly burned. At the same time upon a transparency borne by the young men was an acrostic which ran:—

"Insulting wretch, we'll him expose,
O'er the whole world his deeds disclose ;
Hell now gapes wide to take him in,
Now he is ripe, O lump of sin !
Mean is the man, M—n is his name,
Enough he 's spread his hellish fame,
Infernal furies hurl his soul
Nine million times from Pole to Pole."

S. G. Drake, *History of Boston*.

perience that Mr. Mein sailed for England, as Mr. Murray explains. In a letter written before the massacre he says to his sister : —

“I send in a separate packet what news papers I have saved for the month past. Mr. Mein, who will deliver this, will compleat the Intelligence. He has lately had a more narrow escape with his life from the fury of some of our Chief mobbers than your old Brother had with his quiet Retenue. He goes home in hopes to make their mischievous Intentions turn out to his Emolument, and indeed it would not be safe for him to continue here for some time, they are so exasperated at a late publication of his.”

In the letter of March 12 he adds, upon this subject : —

“Your old Brother went to town on the first Thursday of the month, according to the printed advertisement sent you. That happened to be the very day that Mr. Hancock by Letters and powers he then received laid an attachment on Mr. Mein’s book store and printing office. I dined that day at Mr. E. G’s,¹ where Mr. Miller in behalf of Mr. Mein came to me. I went to the House and had a meeting of his Friends, who after examining into the state of his affairs found themselves quite safe in becoming security to abide by the Judgment of the Court. This Mr. H—— refused and would not take off his attachment and could not be compelled to do it, but matters were managed so with the Sheriff as to get him to accept of a pledge for the value of Mr.

¹ Ezekiel Goldthwaite’s.

Mein's Interest attached at the printing office. This set the press a going again, much to the Surprise and Disappointment of Mr. H—— and his party, with whom this was the Capital Object in this Stroke of his. A Method has been since hit on to relieve the books also by a tender of other Goods. I should not have dwelt so long on this last Article, but to let you see the baseness of the party and to Account for my being in town from the Thursday to the Monday, the night of the Riot. Mr. Mein's friends having set me at their head to Manage this business, that time was fully employed in trying to surmount the Difficulties that were industriously thrown in the way, and, not being concerned in trade, they thought me the least liable to the malice of the Party.

“I leave to others to tell you of the Mobbish doings upon those they call Importers, among whom they were so mean as to include your poor Miss Cumings.

“The folly, Rage and Madness of the Party have been greatly raised by the late Accounts they have had that Administration is to give way to them a Second time. If that is true, they will presently have work enough on their hands in America.”

“The trouble which you have kindly and voluntarily taken in my affairs,” Mr. Mein wrote to Mr. Murray in February, 1772, while they were both abroad, “and the great obligations which you have conferred upon me, I entertain an inexpressible idea of. Indeed, expression is always lame where the

grateful feelings of the heart are concerned." A letter written in 1775 is interesting as showing Mr. Mein's point of view.

JOHN MEIN TO JAMES MURRAY.

LONDON, JANUARY 11th, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — . . . I have a great deal to say, but this is not the opportunity. Every Body here who is not paid by the Colonies has a very proper sense of the present Contest. Those who find their Emolument in deceiving the Colonies will continue to deceive them as long as their Emolument continues. Your Province is considered here as in declared rebellion: Outlawries, Confiscations, and Executions are looked upon to be the certain Consequences. The Men of Property who are the Ringleaders will be the only objects of punishment; the deluded populace are already universally objects of Commiseration: and all the depredations committed on property must be raised from the Estates of the Opulent Rebels; for the poor, who are also the misguided, can make no pecuniary Compensation; they will also be exempted from personal punishment, as they are only considered as mere Instruments in the hands of their deluders. It is thought here to be a very great calamity that thousands of innocent people should be involved in Misery through the atrocious villany of a few most abandoned Men.

The American abuse against administration is clearly in the opinion of the Generality here only a flimsy cover for Rebellion. The Contest is not be-

tween Ministers and the Colonies, but between Parliament and the Colonies; and whichever of them conquers will be the Sovereign Power. The Merchants were under a necessity of petitioning to keep up appearances with their Correspondents on your side the Atlantic. Their wishes for Remittances militate against their consciousness of their Duty. But they are far from being insensible, that their property will be only nominal in the Colonies, if the Rights of Parliament are not vigorously preserved and supported. But I have done. I have been led further than I intended. Be not surprised at whatever may happen. . . .

In Charles Stewart of London, who was a connection of the family, Mr. Murray had a most excellent friend. It was he who at a later date attended to the procuring of Mr. Murray's salary as collector and who performed manifold business offices. After the affair of the fifth of March he had written to his kinsman, begging him to hold himself aloof from public affairs. Mr. Murray replied as follows: —

JAMES MURRAY TO CHARLES STEWART.

MILTON, Sept' 3^d, 1770.

DEAR SIR, — Please to accept of my hearty thanks for your friendly Letter of the 1st May. The Caution you kindly give, I should be ready to observe, did I see things in the Light you see them for me; but as you are not on the Spot, you cannot imagine what good the Resolution of one man

might do, guided by temper and prudence and supported as it would be. And to say the Truth I should have more pleasure in one day aiding & vindicating even one good and Innocent Person unjustly attacked than in drawling out in inglorious ease a number of these years such as I may expect. You may call this Quixotism if you will. Be it so. It is a Spirit, however, that our Superiours on both sides of the Atlantic seem to want, else they would not suffer Government and the friends of Government to be insulted as they daily are. After all I must own that Administration passing over in Silence & with contempt the American combinations against Importation of British goods has had a better effect than would a Severe law to check them. These they are now heartily sick of, & the Trade will probably be quite open by the Spring.

In a former Letter I took the liberty to recommend it to you to supply Mr Mein with a hundred pounds, not doubting he would be able to reimburse you, if he lived a twelve month. Late Advices from him tell us that he cannot bring his Creditors to agree to come in share & share, so it will be catch that catch can, & the court and Lawyers will sweep their part. In this State of things I thought it incumbent on me to take a bill of parcels for a number of Saleable books in Sheets to the amount of that Sum to secure you, if you have advanced him that money. If you have not, you may if you please Lodge the Sum in a friend's hand for him to be paid when these books shall be turnd

into Cash, and let his Receipt appear here ; if you think a man perhaps too resolute and Zealous deserves a Subsistence whose fine business and fortunes have fallen a Sacrifice to the Rage & Malice of faction.

In the mean time the skies were darkening above Christian Barnes's head, and her husband,¹ like Mr. Meins, claimed Mr. Murray's sympathy. On March 13, 1770, Mrs. Barnes wrote to Mrs. Smith : —

“ The vile town of Marlboro have this day put up a notification to warn the inhabitants to Town Meeting to Vote against importation of English Goods. It does not give us much uneasiness, for as a Guilty Conscience needs no accuser so conscious Innocence fears none.”

Later she continued : —

¹ “ Henry Barnes resided in the east village, in the house known as the Cogswell House, which he built in 1763. He was a man of considerable property, and one of the largest taxpayers in the town. He left Marlborough early in 1775, and repaired to Boston to take shelter under the protection of the King's troops. An act was passed in 1778 forbidding all persons who had left the State and gone over to the enemy returning to their former homes . . . In this act Henry Barnes is expressly mentioned. His property was confiscated. . . . He was in England with his family in 1777, and died in London 1808, aged 84.” *History of Marlborough*, by Charles Hudson, p. 156. “ As early as 1770 the people of the town condemned Henry Barnes as an importer who brought goods into the country contrary to the agreement of the patriotic and self-sacrificing merchants of Boston and vicinity, and solemnly agreed that they would not trade with him. Subsequently, when in 1775 General Gage sent his spies to Worcester to sketch the topography of the country, they sought his house as a place of refuge, where they supposed themselves perfectly safe.” *Ibid.*

MRS. BARNES TO ELIZABETH SMITH.

June, 1770.

DEAR MAD'M, — It is long since I have dabbled in politics, and sorry I am to resume the subject. . . . Nor would I now trouble you with it but that I want to vent myself, and, as Mrs. Barclay says, "To whom shall I complain if not to you?"

The spirit of discord and confusion which has prevailed with so much violence in Boston has now begun to spread itself into the country. These poor deluded people with whom we have lived so long in peace and harmony have been influenced by the Sons of Rapin to take every method to distress us. At their March meeting they entered into resolves simular to those you have often seen in the Boston newspapers. At their next meeting they chose four inspectors, — men of the most vioulent disposition of any in the town, — to watch those who should purchase goods at the store, with intent that their names should be recorded as enimes to their country. This did not deter those from coming who had not voted to the resolves. These were chiefly young people who were not qualified to vote in their town meeting. When they saw their measures had not the desired effect, and that our custom still encreased, they fixed a paper upon the meeting house, empowering and adviseing these unqualified voters to call a meeting of their own and enter into the same resolves with the other. This was a priviledg they had never enjoyed, and, fond of their new-gotten power, hastened to put it in

execution, summoned a meeting, chose a moderator, and, by the direction of those who sat them to work, resolves were drawn up, but not yet passed.

While all this was in agitation there was great outrages committed and insults offered to the importers in Boston, so that some of them have been compelled to quit the town, as not only their property but their lives were in danger. Nor are we wholly free from apprehensions of this like treatment, for they have already begun to commit outrages. The first thing that fell a sacrifice to their mallace and revenge was the coach, which caused so much decention between us. This they took the cushings out of and put them in the brook, and the next night cut the carriage to pieces. Not long after they broke the windows at the Pearl Ash Works. It is said that a young gentleman who has formilly headed the mob in Boston and now resides with us is the perpetrator of all this mischief, but I will not believe it until I have further profe.

The greatest loss we have as yet met with was by a mob in Boston, who, a few nights ago, attacked a wagon-load of goods which belonged to us. They abused the driver, and cut a bag of pepper, letting it all into the street ; then gathered it up in their handkerchiefs and hatts, and carried it off. The rest of the load they ordered back into the publick store, of which the Well Disposed Commity keeps the key. Mr. Barnes has applied to the Left. Governor for advice, and he advised him to put in a petition to the general court. He then repaired

to Mr. Murray and begged his assistance in the drawing of it up. He complied with his request, and it is to be lade before the House next week. . . .

The 10th of June the unqualified voters had a meeting, and the next day an effigy was hung upon a hill in sight of the House, with a paper pinned to the breast, whereon was wrote, "Henry Barnes," as infamous importer. This hung up all day, and at night they burnt it. A few nights after they stole the covering from the wagon, which was tarred to secure the goods from the weather, and the same night stole a man's horse from a neighboring stable. They dressed an image in this wagon covering, tarred the horse, saddle and bridle, placed the image upon his back, and set him loose about the town, with an infamous paper pinned to the breast, which was summed up with wishing of us all in hell. But still finding that their malace had no effect, they made a bold push and dropped an incendiary letter. . . . It is not possible for me to express what I suffered upon the perusal of this letter. I could not recollect any one person that we had ever injured or even wished ill to, nor could I imagine such villany ever entered into the heart of man. Mrs. Murray and Miss Polly had been paying us a vissit of a few days, and were just setting off for Brush Hill when the letter was found. Mr. Barnes detained them while he wrote a copy of it, and sent it to Governor Hutchinson. The ladys had not been gone many minutes when I received a letter from Miss Cummings, which was far from

being a cordial to my drooping spirits. She writes me word that one of the McMasters had been carted out of town at noonday in a most ignominious manner, and that the other two brothers had fled for their lives. That the news arrived by Hall had revived the spirit of the other party to such a degree that they had everything to fear, and that it was everybody's opinion poor Preston would be hanged. This is the officer who is in jail for the unhappy affair on the fifth of March.

A gentleman arrived from Boston in the evening and told us that Mr. Hulton's windows had been broke and the family had fled to the castle for protection. You may judge what sleep I had that night, and, indeed, ever since we have slept in such a manner that it can hardly be called rest. It is the business of the evening to see the firearmes loaded, and lights properly placed in the store and house; and this precaution we have taken ever since we received the letter. . . .

June 29. Last night young Nat Coffin came from Boston to pay us a vissit, and he brings this account: That a trader about eleven miles above us, one Cutler, was bringing out a load of goods, and had got about six miles out of town, when a party from Boston persued him and brought him back in his wagon. . . . It seems he had purchased some tea in Boston, which the Commity have prohibited any one to deal in. . . . My cousin likewise informs us that on Monday last Mr. Fleming shut up his printing office and fled to the castle for protection.

July 1st. The affair of Cutler turned out in having his goods seized and committed to the publick store, because he had purchased them of Mr. Lillie, an importer. I look upon all goods seized and committed to that store as much forfeited to the owner as if they were in the bottom of the sea. For they begin to talk of selling them at vendue, and distributing the money to the poor. This will make the poor, as they call them, very assiduous in seizing everything that comes in their way, and will likewise deter people from purchasing of importers, a thing which they have never yet been able to bring to pass.

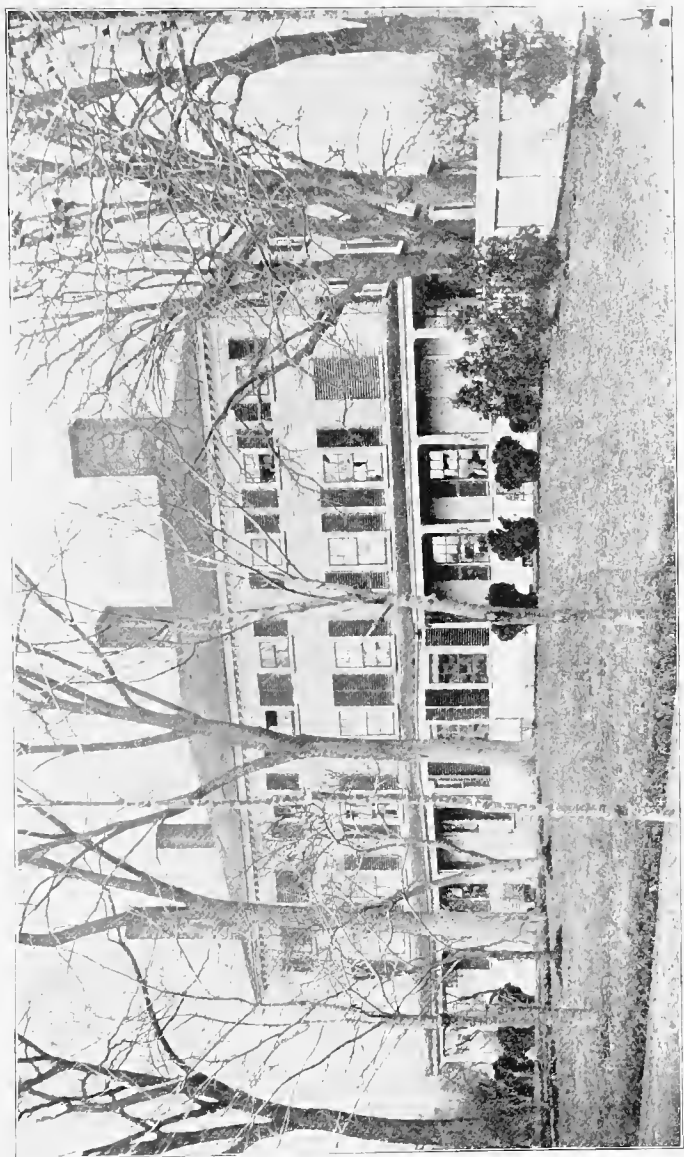
July the 5. . . . I received a letter this morning from Miss Ame, who acquaints me that Mrs. Murray is just come to town in high spirits and bespoke a new pair of stays to make an appearance when the troops arrive, which she says she is every hour in expectation off. . . . Mr. Barnes had offered all his real estate to sale. I hope he will meet with a purchaser.

Between the years 1770 and 1775 the letters contain little of public interest. Some of those written during the interval have been given in the preceding chapter, which closed with the marriage of Mrs. Smith to Mr. Inman, and the return to Massachusetts of Mrs. Forbes. To take up the thread of the narrative from that point ; Mrs. Inman went to preside over Mr. Inman's establishment in Cambridge, a mansion-house having so many farm buildings,

stables, servants' quarters, etc., that it seemed like a little settlement in itself, standing in the angle of the road from Phip's farm on Lechmere's Point, just where the road turned to the right to run toward the college. Mr. Inman kept his coach and liveried servants, and to his house the British officers often went, for his young people were attractive and his hospitality was generous. He had been a Boston merchant, but was now retired. He had also acted as agent for Sir Charles Henry Frankland. Stretching away from the mansion house were "green fields and fragrant pine woods," while a willow-shaded pond and lanes blossoming with thorn and locust trees made the estate one of especial beauty.¹ Within the roomy, low-ceilinged house, with its immense fireplaces, spacious cupboards, rambling passages, and secret closets, Mrs. Inman received her husband's friends and her own, and maintained the old mansion's accustomed state.

Mr. Murray obtained, some time after returning from the London visit referred to in the last chapter, the appointment of inspector of the port of Salem. As his letters say nothing of his duties in connection with the post, they cannot have been arduous. On such public matters as the throwing overboard of the tea, in 1773, the departure of Hutchinson for England, and the coming of Gage to Boston in 1774, he is also silent. It may be that letters were written that have since been lost, but it is undoubtedly true that great prudence crept into his correspondence.

¹ S. A. Drake, *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex*.



THE INMAN HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE

He would rarely do more than refer his friends to the newspapers of the day for any public occurrences, and confined himself as much as possible to his own private affairs. Yet events were hastening toward a crisis.

In February, 1775, the Barneses were plunged into difficulties by an unsought visit from Captain Brown and Ensign De Berniere, scouts sent out by Gage, in preparation for the momentous 19th of April, to examine the country over which he expected to lead a victorious expedition, which should sweep away disloyalty from the "peasant" ranks. De Berniere's account is graphic. The hungry officers had barely seated themselves at Mrs. Barnes's table when they were obliged to fly by a back door out again into the stormy night. They were scarcely gone when thundering knocks at the front of the house heralded the entrance of the Committee of Safety, who searched the rooms and warned the terrified family that the walls should be pulled about their heads if they ever harbored Tories again. In a letter, written, evidently, after De Berniere's visit, and when the British troops were known to be on the eve of marching out into the country, Mrs. Inman offered Mrs. Barnes a refuge in Cambridge.

"Mr. & Mrs. Deblois's account of the treatment you are likely to meet with," she said, "has taken up my attention and made me very uneasy. You know I am no coward, but I would not put myself in the power of desperate people. The Governor I do not doubt will do everything in his power to pro-

tect, but he cannot prevent fears. Therefore, I beg the favor of you to fly to Cambridge, where I shall be happy to see you. A few weeks will answer, pray indulge me in this request. A Regiment going through your town will alarm them, I think they will all run away; they will help settle the Country and learn our people to be good soldiers."

Whether or not Mrs. Barnes accepted the invitation at that time, it is certain that she was in Cambridge just before the battle of Lexington, and returned home on the eventful day itself, reaching Marlborough in safety, though the entire countryside was in motion with messengers and militia.

Not a word of comment from the Murrays on what must to them have been the astounding result of that April march has come down to us. But, indeed, to see the King's troops chased hotly back from Concord, and seeking refuge in Boston from the rebels, may well have struck good loyalists dumb.

Immediately after the 19th of April, that is, by the 22d, Boston was shut up and Cambridge was become the camp of the American army. The British army and the Tories within the lines and the patriots and their friends without were separated by the guards of both sides, stationed about half a mile apart on Roxbury Neck, and by American guards in Charlestown. No one could go in or out without a pass, and any communication was subject to strict scrutiny. In the town were Mr. Inman, Mr. and Mrs. Murray, Mrs. Forbes and her children, and

Elizabeth and Annie Murray. Mary Murray had returned to England, while her brother John was in Providence. Outside, Mrs. Inman, with only John Inness Clark and her servants, stood by the Cambridge farm, though it was virtually in the possession of the Provincials. She had many friends among the patriots, and stood favorably in the public eye as a woman intent on minding her own business and attending to her husband's affairs and property. General Mifflin knew her and her nieces personally, and she also had some acquaintance with other officers on the American side.¹

On the very day that Boston was closed she wrote to her friends within the lines, describing her situation.

ELIZABETH INMAN TO HER FRIENDS IN BOSTON.

CAMBRIDGE, 22nd April, 1775.

I have the pleasure to tell my dear friends that I am well as are all under this roof.

¹ Among these was doubtless to be numbered Colonel (afterwards General) Knox. His wife, who was a daughter of Thomas Flucker, a distinguished Tory, was an intimate friend of Mr. Inman's daughter Susan. In spite of her father's politics Lucy Flucker had married the young rebel, who, at that time (1774), had a flourishing bookstore opposite Williams Court in Cornhill, a fashionable morning resort at that time for the British officers and the Tory ladies. Harrison Gray Otis says that Miss Lucy "was distinguished as a young lady of high intellectual endowments, very fond of books, especially of the books sold by Knox, to whose shelves she had frequent recourse, and on whose premises was kindled, as the story went, 'the guiltless flame' which was destined to burn on the hymeneal altar." The Fluckers were of a French Huguenot family who came to America from England. *Life of Henry Knox*, by Noah Brooks, p. 12.

You know how fond I am of grandeur. I have acted many parts in life, but never imagined I should arrive at the muckle honor of being a General ; that is now the case. I have a guard at the bottom of the Garden, a number of men to patrol to the Marsh, and round the farm, with a body guard that now covers our kitchen parlor, and [now at] twelve o'clock they are in a sweet sleep, while Miss Denforth and I are in the middle parlor with a board nailed across the door to protect them from harm. The kitchen doors are also nailed. They have the closet for their guns. The end door is now very useful. Our servants we put to bed at half past eight. The women and children have all left Cambridge, so we are thought wonders. You know I have never seen troubles at the distance many others have, and as a reward the Gods have granted me a Mentor¹ and a Guardian Angel of three years of age. They are now in bed together. Pray let their friends

¹ Judge Danforth was often affectionately referred to by Mrs. Inman as Mentor. He was an old resident of Cambridge, and had served the town and the province all his life. He was for thirty-six years, from 1739 to 1774, member of the Council ; in the last year he was appointed mandamus councilor, but was "induced to resign." Among other posts which he held were those of judge of probate and judge of common pleas. When the Revolution began he passed out of office, but though he was well understood to be a royalist, his property was not touched.

He had two sons, Samuel, an eminent physician in Boston, afterward president of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and Thomas, a lawyer in Charlestown until the Revolution, when he fled to England.

The child mentioned in the letter must have been one of Judge Danforth's grandchildren.

know he is better and she very well. Mentor bids me tell you that we have nothing to fear but from the troops landing near us. These matters you'll know more of than we do; therefore we shall wait till we hear from you again, which we hope will be time enough to make a safe retreat. There is not one servant will stay if I go. Poor Creatures, they depend on me for protection, and I do not chuse to disappoint them: as far as it is in my power I will protect them.

This day we had a visit of an officer from our headquarters with written orders to our guards to attend in a very particular manner to our directions. He said we were the happiest folks he had seen. To convince you of that I'll tell you how we are employed. Jack¹ is in the garden, the others are planting potatoes. We intend to make fence and plant Corn next week. To show you the goodness of the people, they say we may have what provisions we want. Mentor we have raised above us. His Walks are in the upper chambers.

Boyd was here to-day. Mrs. Barnes is well, got home safe Wednesday.²

MR. TEMPLE.

Dear Sir:—I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken: if you think it prudent you'll direct this to Mr. Inman, if not let him know as much as you think proper. Half an hour past

¹ John Murray.

² Wednesday was the 19th of April.

twelve o'clock, a cloudy morning. All well. I'll call our watch. We are sleepy, don't think us drunk. We keep nothing but water and Spruce beer. That is delivered freely.

Adieu every one of you.

Saturday morning, 6 o'clock. We have had a quiet night and are all in good spirits.

From Mrs. Barnes, at Marlborough, at this trying juncture came appeals for help.

MRS. BARNES TO ELIZABETH INMAN.

(Without date, probably soon after April 22, 1775.)

My dear Mrs. Inman was ever my best friend, she appears now to be my only one. It was surely my good angel that detained you in Cambridge to comfort and console me under the heaviest affliction that I ever encountered. Your first letter was as a cordial to a dying person. Your second gave me still greater relief. I yesterday sent Circular letters to the Selectmen petitioning them to meet at our [store] to consult and advise me what method I should take to procure Mr. Barnes' return and to convince them his stay in Boston was not intended. They came according to my request. I read them Mr. Barnes' letter which I received on Thursday night by the post, wherein he laments his not being able to get home. I likewise read them your first letter. They appeared satisfied and highly pleased with your conduct. They assured me I need be under no apprehension from the towns people, and gave it as their

opinion that neither my person nor interest should be injured. I returned them many thanks for their civility, but had I one line from General Putnam it would be a surer protection for me than anything in their power to offer. . . .

(No date.)

If you are a friend of Col. Putnam¹ I wish you could influence him so far in my favor that he would prevent his troops from molesting me on their return. I have shown them every civility in my power on their way down and shall continue to do so. I thank you from my heart for your kind invitation and offer of protection, but no one knows where they are safest at this time. I have placed a confidence in the people of this town by returning home, and Mr. Barnes will do the same whenever it is in his power. . . .

Tuesday morning, April [2]9th.

It is now a week since I had a line from my dear Mrs. Inman, in which time I have had some severe trials, but the greatest terror I was ever thrown into was on Sunday last. A man came up to the gate and loaded his musket, and before I could determine which way to run he entered the house and demanded a dinner. I sent him the best I had upon the table. He was not contented, but insisted upon bringing

¹ By Colonel Putnam Mrs. Barnes probably means General Putnam's son, Daniel, who seems to have been at times quartered at Mrs. Inman's house, though the letters speak oftener of Colonel Sargent. General Putnam's occupancy of the Inman house must have been delayed until after the battle of Bunker Hill, when Mrs. Inman removed to Milton.

in his gun and dining with me ; this terrified the young folks, and they ran out of the house. I went in and endeavored to pacify him by every method in my power, but I found it was to no purpose. He still continued to abuse me, and said when he had eat his dinner he should want a horse and if I did not let him have one he would blow my brains out. He pretended to have an order from the General for one of my horses, but did not produce it. His language was so dreadful and his looks so frightful that I could not remain in the house, but fled to the store and locked myself in. He followed me and declared he would break the door open. Some people very luckily passing to meeting prevented his doing any mischief and staid by me until he was out of sight, but I did not recover from my fright for several days. The sound of drum or the sight of a gun put me into such a tremor that I could not command myself. I have met with but little molestation since this affair, which I attribute to the protection sent me by Col. Putnam and Col. Whitcomb. I returned them a card of thanks for their goodness tho' I knew it was thro' your interest I obtained this favor. . . . The people here are weary at his absence [Mr. Barnes's], but at the same time give it as their opinion that he could not pass the guards. . . . I do not doubt but upon a proper remonstrance I might procure a pass for him through the Camp from our two good Colonels. . . . I know he must be very unhappy in Boston. It was never his intention to quit his family. . . .

In her plucky defense of the Cambridge farm Mrs. Inman seems to have been left quite alone and almost without advice. Her husband's letters, even, were uncertain and weak. The following, from him, was probably written soon after the closing of the town.

RALPH INMAN TO ELIZABETH INMAN.

Saturday noon, 1775.

MY DEAR MRS. INMAN. — I have sent this to my friend Mr. Thomas Russell to get conveyed to you, who will forward to me any of your Letters or what you send down, and if you Incline to come yourself I dont doubt he will conduct you safe. There is no danger of sending Jack from Cambridge, but none must come over that Expects to return, as there is no Passing any way from Boston, and I am of Opinion that you are Safe at Cambridge as in Boston.¹ But I know you are more capable of Judging for your Self than any Directions I can give. The young Ladys are well and in good Spirits. George² is got almost well tho' not abroad yet. Mrs. Rowe and Mrs. Linzee³ are also well.

I am Dear Mrs. Inman

Yours

¹ "A part of the agreement with Gage was that the country Tories should be allowed to move into Boston." Winsor, *Nar. & Crit. Hist.* Warren tried to get permission for patriots to come out, but they were kept in as hostages.

² Probably George Inman, Mr. Inman's son.

³ Mrs. Linzee, wife of Captain Linzee, who commanded the British man-of-war *Falcon*, was Mr. Inman's daughter, Susannah. S. A. Drake, in his *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex*, p. 187,

Even to obtain permission for a hasty interview at the lines, in the presence of witnesses, was often difficult, and, as Mrs. Inman says in the next letter, it did not do to write much when sending notes back and forth. It is often guesswork to try to extract from the guarded expressions used in the letters that did pass the meaning of the writers, yet some incidents may be gleaned, and the general feeling of the situation is strongly indicated by the fragmentary, interrupted correspondence. Sometimes Mrs. Inman's patience gave out, as she shows in the ensuing : —

ELIZABETH INMAN TO RALPH INMAN.

BOSTON, Thursday, April 27th, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — We have heard by G. Putnam that Boston was to be open'd and all that chose to come out had leave off, so I hope you will make us a visit. Your advice is much wanted. If things are to continue in this situation a week or months, your Farm must be put into other hands. It will not suit me to stay here after Judge Denforth moves, and he is to have a pass to-day to go where and when he pleases.

If the report should be false about Boston being open, I should be glad to see you at Mr. Russell's. No doubt you can have leave to come over the ferry.

says: "John Linzee met with Sukey Inman . . . in some Royalist coterie, — and like as not at the house of her bosom friend, Lucy Flucker."

I send this by a boy who can inform you very particularly how we have lived and managed since you left us. It will not do to write much. Adieu.

Boyd was here all night. Mrs. Barnes is very well and writes in fine spirits. Every thing there goes on finely. She wants rum and sugar sadly. Captain Ward has gone up, and has orders from head quarters to protect her.

In a few days, however, she had recovered her equanimity and was prepared to add the Brush Hill farm to her cares, not doubting that she could secure protection for that also. The stress of the time is felt in every line of her letters, even when she pauses to note her blossoming thorn.

ELIZABETH INMAN TO RALPH INMAN.

CAMBRIDGE, Sunday, April 30th, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — It has ever given me pleasure to study your happiness & to do everything that I thought was for your interest. I have try'd this week past to see and consult with you what you thought most proper to be done, but all in vain. This morning I rose at 5 o'clock, sent G. Speakman for a Pass to go and return before dinner. He Brought me the inclosed. By it my jaunt was stop'd. What to do I know not. This place will not do for me to make a home of for reasons Doctor Danforth¹ will give you. Complaining is not a failing of mine you well know. If agreeable to you

¹ Son of the judge.

do advise with Mr. Murray and Dolly. If he will consent to let her go with me to Brush-hill with her children, I can visit this place as often as I please and see that everything is done properly and take your and his directions in every respect. Dolly need not be afraid. I'll have a proper protection for Brush-hill, her & hers. I do not doubt you and my Brother will protect Mrs. Hooper and the young Ladys. No pass to carry hay in. If Dolly comes out, I shall want Loaf and Brown sugar &c. Ask the Col. to answer the Letter I sent him. Talk to the Doctor about horses and carriages. Job is in want of 20 or 30 pounds O. T. Betty is my Banker, any stores that are wanted may go to Brush-hill, I can have them from there. Please send out Jack's Clothes. He is obliged to wear a broad Cloth coat to work in. Did you get the handkerchiefs and two caps I sent by the white boy? I send a night shirt by the Doctor. Pray let Anny have your linen washed often till I can send more. . . .

Monday morn.

Pray Anne to make me a frame for a cap with wire and catgut. I'll put the muslin on it myself. If she does not know what I mean, Betzy does.

Our thorn tree tells me the day of the month. How different to what the last was, and how different its appearance to the noise I hear from the other room. I hope it is all for the best and matters will be settled soon. Pray Mrs. Rowe to kill her calf, I will not rob her of it these times. Ask Doc-

tor Danforth what news from Mrs. Barnes? If you have tap'd the rum, please to have it drawn off or filled up again. It will waste very fast if you do not.

Tuesday. — I this moment received yours by crying Molly. The Doctor cannot go, as he waits on his Father to Chelsy. At the lines, I'll meet you to-morrow at ten o'clock. Would be glad to see our good Col. with you. Do not be uneasy about us, we laugh one half the day and Listen the other.
Adieu.

The exact details of the "affair" that the next communication alludes to are not positively known. The letters indicate that some of her servants aroused suspicion against her good faith, and that a party of soldiers came to arrest her. She was able, if this surmise is correct, to summon to her aid those who had authority to interfere, and was left unmolested.

ELIZABETH INMAN TO RALPH INMAN.

[CAMBRIDGE, May 6, 1775.]

DEAR SIR,—I have looked over your notes very carefully, and in every one of them I discover that you would rather I could stay in the Country than move to town. It gives me pleasure to know that is your opinion, as an affair happened the day after I saw you that put it out of my power to stir from this. The affair I fear is too serious for me to write. I'll send you a letter Betsy wrote to Mrs. Barnes. I have often told you Job was not a

proper person to be in your family after his behavior last summer. No doubt you'll be convinced of it now. The way that I had settled matters the morning I saw you was only to give them the use of the kitchen, the rooms over it, with Miss Sally's room. Now Caty can tell you how we manage. I beg you'll insist on her coming out of Town again. She is all the security I have for a safe retreat. Mr. Sargent is one of the best men you can imagine, but his business may hurry him into duty in a moment. Then what will become of us God only knows.

Jack Clark has been to see me, and offered to send Providence wagons to move us stock and block to a place of safety, but I had given my word. By that I must abide.

Your servants and intrest I will protect as far as it is in my power. These affairs must be entirely your own, as there is not a word said in Boston but what returns here. My letters to you have been misrepresented.

I wish your friends had consented to your meeting me at Mr. Russells, as I earnestly desired; if you had, many, if not all these difficultys might have been prevented.

Mrs. Forbes and her children joined Mrs. Inman in Cambridge, in this month, May. At that time rumors as to what Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe would do when they arrived in Boston were rife. An attack on the army at Cambridge was not un-

reasonably expected of the generals, who required "elbow room." Mr. Murray was alarmed for the safety of the Cambridge household, and begged his sister to leave all and join him in the town.

JAMES MURRAY TO ELIZABETH INMAN.

BOSTON, May 17, 1775.

DEAR SISTER, — As I do not expect another opportunity than this of speaking my mind to you while you remain in the Country, I must now tell you that you cannot with any regard to your own safety or our peace continue out much longer. The whole re-enforcement expected will be here in all this month at furthest. Cambridge will be the first object, and in no part round the Town will the Tory houses be spared by the Natives, whether they be Conquerors or Conquered. Elated pride or despairing rage will operate to the destruction of all our property who take sanctuary in the Town, and particularly of such who determine to carry arms in defence of the Town. In this view your second scheme of a retreat for yourself or Dolly at Brush-hill seems improper, and sending off Crane in a pet, however necessary it might be at another time, will tend to set his Liberty Connections against the farm with greater Violence.

As to provisions here, which they tell me you are in pain about, there will be no want ; plenty there is of flour, salt pork, Indian Corn and fish.

Inclosed is a copy of what I wrote to Dolly by Crane. He may justly think it hard to dismiss him

without discharging his last year's wages ; and that, if I could, I do not choose to do till I see some account of what has been in his charge. By some management among them, my farm account book wherein his and Badcock's account was enter'd which was in my Closet is not to be found. If Badcock has it not in keeping, it is of no use to those who took the other goods.

We shall take frequent opportunities of sending the boy Lewis over the ferry with open Letters. There is some difficulty indeed of getting a pass for his Return, but that will be overcome.

By the next day, however, Mrs. Inman had convinced both her brother and her husband that Boston was not her best refuge. Mr. Murray's letter of May 18 is prompt and decisive. Mr. Inman's, of the morning after, is wavering and astonishingly vague as to local geography.

JAMES MURRAY TO ELIZABETH INMAN.

BOSTON, Thursday, May 18, 1775.

DEAR SISTER, — In answer to your Letter of this day, proposing for the Quiet of your Friends here several places of Retreat, upon Considering all of them, Brush-hill seems the best, tacking the Stoughton house to it. I mean, to have a bed ready there and some few necessaries that will serve you both for an airing at times and a remoter Retreat upon Emergency. You may have, when you will, everything from town that is allowed to anybody else,

and may be permitted, I suppose, to carry your own Stores thither. The Mode of Communication with us must be, either by sending a boy (not Badcock or Crane or anybody else that has been in Arms) with or without a Team & a letter to me, to be at the Lines before 12 o'Clock at noon, directed to the care of Capt. Bowen or Mr. Benjamin Davis, on daily Service there, who come into dinner at that hour and will deliver the Letter to me at the Custom House; or on certain days I may have a boy at the Lines in the forenoon, to bring me any open Letter that shall come. Another advantage of Brush-hill, you may carry both Mr. Inman's stock and mine there and dispose of them between the two farms, or probably Seth Sumner, who has hired Trot's pasture this year, will be glad to have his bargain taken off his hands for the Season. Dolly and her Children will be your attendants there. My Love to them and Miss Goldthwait and Compliments to your kind Protector, Colonel Sargent.

RALPH INMAN TO ELIZABETH INMAN.

BOSTON, Friday morning [May 19], 1775.

DEAR MADAM, — Your memorandum I have read carefully over, and am of opinion with that worthy gentlemen that the women and children that do not like to be confined in a Town are to secure a safe retreat in time of danger. Your Brother has given his opinion. Mine is for Limester,¹ but would have you follow your own inclinations and you'll

¹ Leominster.

please me, only let me know where you go to, that I may make connections to get you supplied with the necessaries you may want for your subsistence. I have no other conveyance than by Mr. Hopkins, by whom can send a line every day, an open letter to be at Mr. Cary's about the hour you mentioned. I am not able to give you any advice, for if you cannot be benefited by the Farm it will not be worth while to be at any more expense about it. Let it take its chance with the rest; the delicacies of its produce will be worth the attention of some care to those that reaps the fruits of it so as not to destroy it. Could not you send me one load of the most unnecessary articles, . . . and give a day or twos notice, that a permitt may be got. The Ladies are well and got pretty well composed. Adieu.

Lemenstone I take to be in this Province about 20 miles wide of Mulborough, but if it should be in the other Provinces I cannot give my opinion; you must act your own judgement.

Yet another scheme formed itself in Mrs. Inman's brain. Mrs. Forbes was taking upon her shoulders the care of the Brush Hill farm, that it might at least yield them food and some support. But Mrs. Inman could not bear with equanimity the thought of a continued separation. Had the plan of a removal to St. Johns, spoken of in the two letters given below, been carried out, Mr. Murray would have had his daughters and sister with him for the remainder of his life.

DOROTHY FORBES TO JAMES MURRAY.

May 20th, 1775.

MY DEAR PAPA, — I was at Brush-hill yesterday, found the Account Book you mentioned and send it by Mrs. Head. My Aunt thinks if she goes to B-hill it will not do for Crane and her Servants to be there together, and indeed there will not be room for them all. She has told Crane he must get a place, and that [she] will employ him whenever there is any work for him. Please to send his Account and let us know what agreement you have made with Badcock and if it would not be best to let him plant potatoes and corn by the halves. The hay, should we stay, we can take care of ourselves. My Aunt's sheep are gone to the farm, and we propose having them and yours washed and shear'd next week; after which they are to be sent to Stoughton, and Fesendon is to go up and see that there is good pasture for them. I am very anxious to know how you keep your health. I fear salt provision will not agree with you. Wish it was in my power to send you some fresh, but find it will not do to attempt it.

Mrs. Head returns on Tuesday — pray write by her. Be very particular about yourself, as perhaps it may be the last time we can hear from you. Our friendly Colonel¹ wishes much Mr. Inman and you were with us to enjoy the Country air — says he would do everything in his power to make you happy, but that's a pleasure we cannot expect to

¹ Colonel Sargent.

enjoy at present. Please to send us by Mrs. Head some paper, pens, sealing wax, and the key of your little trunk.

The Boys are in good health and spirits — are constantly out with the men. Please make my duty, love and compliments where due, and believe me to be

Your dutiful & affectionate Daughter,

D. FORBES.

P. S. — I shall go next week to take an account of the tools and grain on the farm.

My Aunt has just been writing a new plan to Mr. Inman, which, if you and he approve of, we think we could have it more in our power to assist you, and she says it signifies nothing living unless we can find some way to support you in a more agreeable manner than you are at present. You may imagine that affairs will be shortly settled, but it appears very different to us here; and we think, were we to go to St. Johns, we might have it in our power to see you more frequently. However you know best. Should you approve, would it not be Best to Leave the farm in the same hands Mr. Inman does his?

My Aunt begs Mr. Inman and you would consider of this and send her an answer by Mrs. Head, as she is anxious to know what she is to do.

ELIZABETH INMAN TO RALPH INMAN.

CAMBRIDGE, May 20th, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — I have thought of many different plans. To be settled in a family way again would be better than this. Perhaps you will imagine all will be peace and quietness soon & we may settle at our own home. I know too much to think so, and will give you my opinion and beg the favor of you to think seriously of it. It is to take the land that Mr. Rowe has at St. Johns or any ones that you can buy or hire there. I can move bag and baggage and meet you at any port you chuse to sail from. From there we could send off what stock, where and when we pleased and have the necessaries of life. Job ¹ has rendered this place useless to you and very disagreeable for any of your family to live at. It will take much more than the profits of it to keep the people tolerably civil, and when taxing comes in fashion it will take it root and branch unless you can leave it in the hands of some person that is not suspected as you now are. I think if you was to leave Mr. Fesenden, his wife and children, Titus, Bill, Jack Marlebro' to take the hay and all the crop of the ground under the direction of Jack Clark, he would sell or export it to you. If you like the Island Mr. Henshaw or the one that Mr. Lloyd lived on better than anything I have proposed, I beg you will do as you please. You very wisely say it is terrible to live in Boston with so large a family in these times when they can be sup-

¹ Mr. Inman's negro man.

ported with little more than the stock and produce of the farm, which stock and produce they must entirely lose if some method is not taken. There is no help for your horses being pressed. I wish you would say what must be done with them.

Mrs. Head who is the bearer of this will return here on Monday or Tuesday. I earnestly entreat you to consider what is to be done, as there is no time to lose. By your letter I shall be determined and act immediately upon it.

My compliments to Mr. Barnes. Tell him it is not in my power to see or hear from Mrs. Barnes unless I go up, which I will do, or send Mr. Putnam, if he has any particular business.

Adieu Dear Sir.

From this Island we could come and go where we chose and return here at our leisure. . . .

Unconvinced, Mr. Murray still recommended Brush Hill. The British reinforcements were within two days of Boston when he wrote, "The business of clearing the Neighborhood of this town will not be so tedious." He anticipated the shelling of the town, but was, as ever, "tranquil," and "at ease."

JAMES MURRAY TO ELIZABETH INMAN.

BOSTON, May 23d, 1775.

DEAR SISTER, — I received Dolly's affectionate letter by Mrs. Head, and shall not fail to avail myself of the opportunity of her return to speak my mind, as you both wish and expect.

Of all your Plans, that of St. Johns is the most out of the way and improper. The business of clearing the Neighborhood of this town will not be so tedious. . . . I should think it could be done in two or three Weeks. The greater the numbers on your side, without experienced Generals, as they are, the greater will be the Confusion and the more total the rout. One good Effect of your Army's making a Stand and taking their fate on the Spot may be to prevent a general Devastation of the Country, which both sides ought to deplore and wish to avoid.

Mr. Inman has show'd me what he writes you. He leans to Point Shirley and thinks you may save your Stock by driving it to Chelsea. I imagine that will be out of your power, that as soon as any attempt is perceived to save your Stock by putting it out of the way of your Army or its Friends, so soon will it be driven off or destroyed. Things are now come to such extremity, the stock of both farms is scarcely an object of attention. It is still my opinion you will be most comfortable at Brush-hill and as safe there as any where, even as safe as in town, in case any shells are to be thrown upon us or if we are to be set on fire by the Whigs within, which many suspect. For my own part, I am as tranquil, as much at my ease as ever you knew me, from an entire Resignation to Providence and a firm persuasion that all will end for the General good. I have taken possession of Betsey's Chamber, laid my bed on the floor; my books, my old and (except you and two or three more) the best friends now

left to me, are ranged about the room; my South window has a fine prospect of Beacon-hill, Box's rope Walks, the place destined for the Cavalry and the 4th Reg-t Camp.

Salt provisions, to which we are not altogether confined, agree better with me, eating a Quantity of Rice, pudding or greens with it, than a hearty meal of fresh victuals. I mention this because Dolly pities us on that Score.

Having taken some pains to solicit passes for some of my Acquaintance and for several poor people who would not have got them so readily without me, I came to be noticed by my Friends, the Tories, who raised a Clamour against me, particularly for interfering in the case of Mr. Boies, who notwithstanding our Difference in politics, has always been a good Neighbor to me. . . .

All this family make no complaints of their fare, think themselves very safe, and would be happier were you and Dolly in a Situation as much to your liking as this is to us. . . .

I think myself much obliged to your good Colonel for his kind offers of protection and good entertainment for your Husband and your Brother. In our situation it would be highly improper to give him trouble about us. I shall be happy, if, in the vicissitude of human Affairs, it may be in my power to render him any Service. . . .

I told Crane to carry three barrels of Cider, a present to Gen^l Thomas at Roxbury, who has been very polite to me and my people. This I wrote the

Gen^l of and desired his acceptance. Let Dolly see that it be sent.

Between this and you at Brush-hill, the communication by boys will be easy, as I wrote you before, as also for teams when wanted.

I have written to Lady Don, to Brother John and Mr. Pringle by Callahan, who is still detained by the Weather.

I send by Mrs. Head paper, pens and wax as Dolly desired.

Adieu, may God bless, direct and preserve you and yours.

In obedience to the advice she received, Mrs. Inman began the slow process of removing her goods and servants from Cambridge to Brush Hill.

ELIZABETH INMAN TO RALPH INMAN.

CAMBRIDGE, May 29 & 30th, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — To satisfy my friends I am about a most disagreeable task, that of moving from a once delightful home to wander God knows where. I think it necessary to leave Fesenden, Titus and Bill, the young Fesenden must go with us, he is too young to leave among so much company.

Harry is anxious to go to town, I have told him he wants so much nursing, milk, broth, greens &c that you could not have him with you. He has desired his foules and ducks may go with him and his trunk &c; if so he thinks he can be very happy where I go. Bella Flue moves first. I went to Brush-

hill this morning. Crane is to move his family to some part of Stoughton to-morrow. With Mr. Boises advice I hired him at the same rates you give Fesenden to assist in getting the hay and crop. I intend he shall sleep in one end garret and Fesenden in the other.

Col. Sargent is not at home. When he returns I shall offer him what part of the house he chuses. I have thought very seriously of these matters; I hope the part I have acted will be agreeable to you. Bill is to be Cook, Gardener and Housekeeper.

What is become of Judge Denforth and daughter? I fear they have been frightened.

DEAR SIR,¹ — My aunt has been so busy in sending off the goods to Brush-hill that she has not time to finish her letter, desires me to let you know she has sent Bill to return with the chaise carriage that Jack went down with. He takes Jacks clothes with him, who she does not expect to return to her again.

I know it will be a satisfaction to hear we have begun to move and I hope we shall soon have it in our power to acquaint you We are settled at Brush-hill, altho' I assure you it is with great reluctance we leave this agreeable place. I wish it may make you and the rest of our friends easy.

May 31st.² — You was to have had this but Bill brought it back again. Mr. & Mrs. Bacon carries this to the ferry and stay for letters from Mr. Goldthwait.

¹ Here Dorothy Forbes continues the letter.

² Here Mrs. Inman resumes.

Pray write how you are. Have you shirts and linen according to memorandum. Adieu.

The next letter is too complicated in its bearings for any attempt at explanation. Its effect upon Mr. Inman was disastrous.

ELIZABETH INMAN TO RALPH INMAN.

CAMBRIDGE, June 12th, 75.

DEAR SIR, — On Thursday I received your kind letter with the note inclosed for C. and N. Every day convinces me more and more that you were in the right not to mind my apprehensions when I wrote to you to meet me at Mr. Russles.¹ That time I told you this would not do for a home for me, four days after you sent me word you could not meet me and advised me by all means to stay here. This I own I thought cruel, and determined from that moment to run all risks rather than come to town, and as soon as I could I wrote for Dolly and her children.

Told you complaining was not a crime of mine, but here I could not sleep, promised to attend in the day as often as possible, after that Jobs affair happened and Brush-hill was robb'd at that time. I should certainly have stept into Boston if I had not been denied that privilege, at a time when Judge Denforth was to leave me alone among numbers whose persons and manners I was entirely unacquainted with. The day after the good man left me

¹ See letter of May 6, p. 193.

had like to have proved fatal, and if I had not been roused beyond reason to have acted an uncommon part, I mean calling gentlemen to turn away men who had done nothing but their duty considering the story Job told them,¹ do you imagine, desgusted as I was at my setuation, I would have made Col. Sargent a promise of staying here if he would protect me. No Sir that night you would have seen me. Intrest would have been no concern of mine. Since that I have been more calm. Rather than appear dull, I throw my anxiety off with a laugh, go about and order things as if I was to stay here for years, and at the same time I believe a few months will deprive me the pleasure of giving you an account of what your servants have done. Be that as it will, I have done my best for your and your familys intrest. I would leave this place directly, but I hear our neighbor's Hay and crops are to be taken in by those in power, therefore I am glad Mrs. Sargent is coming down, it will be expensive, but our creatures will starve if we do not save as much as we can. You mention the hay, I have thought a great deal of and think it will be prudent to carry it to Brush-hill if I am allowed.

Do not be uneasy about me. Am glad you are in town.

Adieu.

¹ See letter of May 6, p. 193.

RALPH INMAN TO ELIZABETH INMAN.

TUESDAY MORN, 13th June, 1775.

DEAR MADAM, — How unhappy was I in the mistake I made in the pass to meet you at Mr. Russels. It being directed for you instead of me was the reason you did not see me, as none of my friends were Knowing to it, neither did I pay any Regard on that account. I keep it by me to show you when we meet, which I hope in God will be soon, being too much distress to Continue any longer absent. It never was my Inclination to be separated for a moment, unless it was your own choice. What I have said or done has been to Comply with what I thought would be agreeable to you, for I assure you that my Situation has wore me down, and I cannot continue long to be so much distress as I have Experienc't since your Absence. The Course of my Life is to get up in the Morning to Breakfast and do what necessary Business I can (which is but small), get done and about ten O'Clock at night I goe to Bed. No more of the Family do I see till next Morning. . . .

. . . It is Necessary you should be in Town. . . . I have wrote you, and now do from my Soul request, that you will come to Town, and leave your affairs in the best Situation you can. I claim no Advantage. My interest I give up. If you can't dispose of your Servants to your mind, bring them to Town. Let us take the Chance with our Neighbours. I will bear any hardship to have you with me. My spiritts will be insupportable to live the Life I do. I have

gone through many tryalls, which I thought would have Overcome me, but I hope they are Over and will be a Comfort to me in my distress. Pray leave the Farm to take its Chance. Your Creatures are of no consequence, your Hay the same. Carry none to Brush Hill, but hasten your way to Boston, where we shall be as happy as those about us ; and if we cannot remain Quiet here, I will goe where ever you please. I know we shall meet with friends in any part of the Globe, for I can clap my hand to my Breast and say that I have injured no Man, nor given cause to make myself an Enemy. We have both gone through many tryalls in Life, and all that I aim at now is to make my latter days Easy, which a little matter will do after going thro' the Bustle and cares of high Life. I assure you I can content myself in any little Hovell that will afford me a Bare Sustenance, to have you with me. Dont think of removing anywhere but to Town. Quit every thought of Prosecuting any other scheme. You need only come to the Lines and make enquiry for Mr. B. Davis or Capt. Bowen and they will conduct you safe to Town, or send me a line that I may attend you. . . .

I am forever yours, Adieu

RALPH INMAN.

P. S. This is my Only and Last Request that you will come to Town, with your Family and Servants, for I cannot live in my present Situation. Mr. & Mrs. Rowe urge it, and all your friends desire to have you in Town. It was always mine, had I not

mistook your meaning. Be at no more Expense on the farm. Let those take it that will Reap the Crop, and send me word and I'll secure a pass for all. It is not Time to deliberate. Jack M., too, I can provide for. Would not Shed take some of the other Servants to board? Act yourself by them, but Bill must come with you, for nothing can be done without his help in Town. I should be glad of a line by the first Opportunity over the Ferry to know my Fate, for your letter Yesterday has distres'd me above measure. . . .

To this Mrs. Inman replied : —

ELIZABETH INMAN TO RALPH INMAN.

June 14th, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — Your very affectionate letter I received yesterday by Mrs. Cordis, am much obliged to you for setting this matter to rights. I freely own it made me very inattentive to myself. When they used to tell me I was in a place of great danger I told them with a cheerful countenance we could die but once, and I was a predestinarian, therefore had no personal fear, not even when I stood before a Company that made a prisoner of me in a formal manner. The day and evening the Girls were here, notwithstanding my carelessness about myself, be assured, Dear Sir, I did not neglect what I thought would be most for your intrest. I have carefully studied it, and if I have erred it is in Judgement; and if I did not see a fare prospect of saving your

crop, stock &c &c, I would immediately go to town and convince you how ready I was to obey. Indeed, it is my inclination, but you wisely observe your income is only seventy pound sterling a year. In that case your servants could not be mentain'd in town. It would certainly take more than that sum to buy only them the worst of provisions. Therefore I'll give you my opinion, it is for me to sleep at Brush-hill and come here in the day, till we get our hay and crops removed ; then leave this place to the care of Col. Sargent & Lady, with one or two servants to prevent the house and farm being hurt or crowded ; to leave the other servants with Badcock at Brush-hill ; to sell as much of the produce and stock as possible, or leave at Brush-hill as you think proper. As we have sown it is a pitty not to reap. . . . I am sorry my letter gave you so much uneasiness. I thought, as times were, it was necessary to speak my mind. When I have done that my heart is at ease. I hope and pray yours may be the same, and when an opportunity offers I beg you will write as freely to me as I have done to you. The consequence of my going to Town now is an entire loss of your stock, and this year's produce. I have gone throw some difficulty to preserve it, and I think a little while longer may accomplish my design. I would have you consider of this affair seriously and let me know your determination.

Adieu, Dear Sir.

Three days after the date of the last letter came

the battle of Bunker Hill. Cambridge was at the highest pitch of excitement, — the camp there was a scene of confusion, the townspeople stricken with terror. For, should the British succeed at those frail outworks, there was nothing to prevent them from attacking the American army at its headquarters. But what sensations the moving troops, the sound of battle, and the smoke of the burning houses of Charlestown aroused in the Murrays in Boston or in Mrs. Inman in Cambridge can only be conjectured, for no family letter touching on the battle is extant.

One such letter did exist, but it has vanished. It was from Mrs. Forbes, and in it she related that she was in Cambridge on the morning of the seventeenth, but that, unable to endure her fright, she made a fifteen-year-old boy harness a horse to her Aunt Inman's chaise and drive her to Brush Hill, the noise of the firing causing her to stop her ears all the way.

Mrs. Inman, with the rest of her servants, also fled during the day, but how or with whom is not known.

Family tradition, borne out by anecdotes of the time, relates that General Putnam's son, who was in the habit of guarding the Inman house by sleeping there at night, was instructed by his father to remain with Mrs. Inman on the 17th, and, if she left the town, to escort her to a place of safety. It is to be presumed that he obeyed the charge.

The blank in the correspondence after the date of

the battle is broken by the following formal communication from Mr. Murray : —

Mr Murray presents his Affectionate Compliments to his Sister Inman & his Daughter Forbes. He has obtained Leave from the Commander in Chief to see them or either of them, with General Howe's consent, at the advanced posts of Charlestown on Saturday next. He proposes this Interview to be between the hours of Eleven & one O'Clock. Betsey is named in the Permit & purposes to be of the party. Mrs Inman's old Acquaintance Colin Campbell, now a Captain in the 35th Reg^t, intends to escorte us, if he shall be on duty, we shall bring some other officer to be Eye & Ear Witness of all that passes. And the Ladies are desired to use the same precaution, on their side : the Times require it.

Mr Lloyd has likewise got Permission to see, on the same day, his Mother & Sister Lisle & to bring them in, if they choose.

Boston July 26th Wednesday 1775.

The next letter from Mrs. Inman is from Brush Hill.

The Mrs. Hooper, to whom it refers, is William Hooper's mother. During the siege she and her son were tenderly cared for by the Murray family in Boston, and afterward at Brush Hill. That the letter in its caustic dealing with Mr. Inman should have thrown that gentleman into a second tremor of agitation can scarcely be wondered at.

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between the hours of Eleven & one O'Clock. Betsey
is named in the Permit & purposes to be of the party.
Mrs Inman's old Acquaintance (Gen Campbell now
a Captain in the 35th Regt. Infan^y) to wait on, of the

a Captain on the 35th Reg, intends to escort us, if he
shall be on duty, we shall bring some other officer
to be Eye & Ear Witness of all that passes. and the
Ladies are desirous to use the same precaution, on
their side: the Times require it.

Mr Lloyd has likewise got Permission to see on the
same day, his Mother & Sister Luke & to bring them
in, if they choose.

Boston July 26th Wednesday 1775-

ELIZABETH INMAN TO RALPH INMAN.

BRUSH-HILL, July 30th, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure of yours at the lines yesterday with a note wherein you say you did not deliver Mrs. Hooper's letter. The day Mrs. Forbes was at the Lines with it she expected to meet Anne and had a message for her for a key to that letter, but she was disappointed in not seeing her. The message she will write you.

In my last I told you I was planing night and day. These plans were well meant and not selfish. However, as they do not suit you, I rest satisfied. If you had given Mrs. Hooper the letter and told her you would be glad if she would stay in town till I could come in, she would certainly have done it, and according to my desire she might have sent for fresh meat. I am sure it would have been granted, as G. Washington says he will do every thing in his Power to serve her.

Words cannot describe my astonishment when I received your message ; it was if Mrs. Hooper came out of town you would go to London with Mr. & Mrs. Rowe. If this is a return for the many anxious and fatigueing days I have had, I leave it to your better Judgement, and will endeavor to submit. To save you from every anxiety that is in my power to prevent, I enclose your order on Clark & Nightengale, as you say in your note " R. I. has received but little money since he came to town. He has been obliged to draw for his own wants, and waits to receive his account current from Lanes

House to see if he is entitled to draw for the Providence sum, which he cannot do should his dependence on a bill remitted be returned or any failure in the house which he is anxious to hear from." Now, Sir, you have received this valuable treasure (an order for one hundred pound sterling), I beg you 'll cast off your cares. Anxiety is very bad for the health, which you 'll require a great share of, as well as money and good spirits, in seeing and being seen in England.

You have sent a List of debts with directions to get Intrest but not principle. I hate to be insulted, therefore cannot make any demand at present, nor at any other time, without a power from you ; no doubt you 'll leave one with some friend before you sail. Believe me, Mr. Inman, I am not anxious about a mentinence. Experience has taught me, water-gruel and salt for supper and breakfast, with a bit of meat, a few greens or roots, are enough for me. No doubt you blame me to your numerous acquaintance for not coming to Town. I think they ought to hear my reasons before they condemn me. In the first of the bussle you wrote to me that I was better in the Country than in town, after that you wrote to me you could not command but seventy pound sterling a year, and provisions were very dear and scarce. A few weeks after that, you invited me and your large family into town, which family, I mean those you had before I lived at Cambridge, spent three hundred and twenty pound sterling a year, and the produce of the farm. This

invitation I thought very seriously of, and would have accepted it with pleasure on my own account, but was and am certain it would have been cruel on theirs. Therefore I wrote to you that sum would not buy them the worst of provisions in the cheapest times, and proposed my staying to assist them in protecting and taking care of the crop that could be saved, in order to maintain them, till they could raise another in some quiet part of the country. The hay we were obliged to move; there was twenty-five Ton of it. I paid three pound ten shilling O. T. a load for bringing it here. At that time your carts and Brush-hill ones were employed in bringing furniture &c. The rye turns out very well, they are now thrashing it. There is but little hay any where, the drought has been very severe. I proposed, if I had disposed of the rest of the crops, to have changed houses with Mrs. Hooper, left the servants here, — Mrs. Hooper and John to have paid Mrs. Forbes enough for their board to have bought cash articles with, the produce of this farm to have been an equivalent for Mrs. F——, Betzy and the children.

As to the aspersion of this being G. Lee's headquarters, I cannot imagine how it arose. I never saw him till Saturday at the Lines. None of the gentlemen have been here but Mr. Sargent once to wait on his lady. As to having letters directed to my care, I could not deny that privilege to those that asked me. They knew Mr. Sargent lived in your house, who went to head quarters every day,

and had an opportunity to take them up and send them here. I beg to know what else I am accused of. Be assured, Dear Sir, I will with pleasure account for every action that I remember since the year seventeen hundred and twenty-six (the year of my birth).

I have not had the manners to return one of the visits the Ladies paid me on my arrival here.

Adieu Dear Sir.

Parts of the following letter from Mr. Murray to Mrs. Forbes were evidently written in reply to the letter from Mrs. Inman to her husband, and were intended for her eye. They still have the authoritative tone of the elder brother.

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY FORBES.

Boston, September 10th, 1775.

DEAR DOLLY, — I am now to answer at more length and more ease than I did yesterday through the Lines, several letters which have been lately received by Mr. Walkers, Uncle and myself. He is so deranged by the tenor of one of his that he cannot yet be composed enough to reply.

I said yesterday and said truly that the giving no power to receive principal sums was of my Suggestion, that the Attorney might not be compelled to take such disagreeable payment as might in these days of confusion be tendered. As to Mrs. H[oooper] I had before the Receipt of the letter to her proposed her going to the Country before I thought of

consulting Mr. I. She did not seem to relish it, yet acquiesced, but the Son absolutely refused to leave the Town. Add to this Mr. Inman's desire to have them in the house as some Company to him, for A—— was none. It was also by my advice that the Letter to her was kept back. We could not divine the scheme that has since opened about a change of houses, which would have been highly pleasing to him and me, but not so, I fancy, to any of the Ladies within or without.

One would think 1726 was at distance enough to learn to make allowance for the vexation the times give to one put quite out of his usual mode of life and hampered in business. On the other hand, if we consider seriously what vast alteration both with regard to Life and property a little time may soon produce, we shall not be apt to take Exceptions to the conduct of our nearest and best friends, but put the most favourable Construction upon it. Nor shall we despond under the troubles of the Time if we can persuade ourselves, as we ought, that Providence will bring much good out of them.

I understood by Annie's letter that she would have leave on your Side to come through the Lines, therefore applied for leave here, which I obtained after calling for it three or four times, but with this mortifying restraint, that I was not to pass the Lines or have any Conference with a friend without, while that privilege was allowed that day to the Rev. Mr. Walter.¹ You see in what a State of Diffidence and

¹ "Rev. Nathaniel Walter, son of Rev. Nehemiah Walter, of the

Suspicion I stand in here by my family being able to make their Quarters good in the Country. This I am quite unconcerned about, because time and Opportunity will exculpate me to the World in that respect, as much as I am now before God and Conscience.

Mr. Inman desires me to inclose with this his power to Mrs. Inman. She will consider how far it may be proper to publish it, for the Reasons before mentioned.

I send you also Mr Forbes' letter as you say this sent by way of Newport will not be opened.

The June packet arrived yesterday, but no Letters for any of us.

Mary Murray had, in 1774, gone to England to visit her parents, leaving her millinery wares and customers in the hands of her sister Anne. Of Anne's affairs Mr. Murray speaks in the ensuing letter. She had been sent to Brush Hill for a diversion, not so much from the cares of business as from the vicinity of a youth who was yet a student and without any means of support except what his father supplied. He was William Dummer Powell, son of John Powell, a stanch loyalist.

First Church. He was born in Roxbury August 15, 1711, graduated at Harvard College in 1729, was ordained over the Second Church July 10, 1734, and died March 11, 1776. He was a chaplain in the Louisburg expedition, and acted as interpreter for General Pepperell. *Mem. Hist. Bost.* vol. ii. p. 346.

JAMES MURRAY TO ELIZABETH INMAN.

BOSTON, August 28, 1775.

DEAR SISTER, — As I am like to have few Opportunities like this, it would be unpardonable not to write you freely.

I hesitate much about sending out Betsey, who now seems anxious to go. It is thought very odd that, while other Tories are loudly complaining of the restraints and hardships their families suffer in the Country, I should voluntarily throw my Daughter into the same Snare, where if she fare better than others, the Inference will not be to my advantage. I wish for your advice before she be sent out, but that I know not how you can send, all communication at the Lines being cut off, unless you can get a safe hand to deliver your letter to Mr. Ross, the man of Mr. Tarbett's boat, who transports the Emigrants to Winnisimet.

I wrote you last week that it is impracticable at this time to dispose of Anny's goods by wholesale, they would not fetch ten shillings on the pound. In winter, *if we continue here*, it will be necessary for her to come in for a while at least, for I cannot make up the Accounts without her, and then goods of her sort will be scarcer and of course more saleable. My wife proposes that she should stay with us and tend her Shop in the day only. This might help to check some improper dangling.

I have said, *if we continue here*, for it is a favourite scheme of many Officers of the Army, I do not say of the General, to lay this town in Ashes and

✓ to decamp with the Tories toward New York, where there will be more elbow Room and more of the Country people to countenance and assist the King's Army. It is said this scheme has been much inculcated by Letters from hence, and orders are by some expected in Consequence.

A Man of War arrived on Saturday with dispatches for the General, which left Plymouth the 21st June, but nothing by that ship Transpires. A Victualing ship arrived last week which brings a Letter of the 15th June from Mr. Blowers to Mr. Rogers, Amory's partner, saying that the General's account of the 19th April by Capt. Brown had arrived only two days before, that it had not at all affected the stocks, that the Ministry had the entire confidence of the Nation, and that the present conduct of the Americans would increase the number, not of their friends, but of their enemies at home. These articles I had from Mr. Rogers himself. . . .

The Town has been very sickly, but this family and the Sugar house have escaped.

As the time of Gage's departure for England drew near, the regulations affecting intercourse between Boston and the country grew somewhat slack. Communication between Milton and Boston was carried on by vessels sailing up the Neponset. Mrs. Inman journeyed back and forth between the two places, and even went to the Inman house in Cambridge; Mr. and Mrs. Murray visited Brush Hill, Annie Murray returned to town, where her

betrothal and marriage to William Powell occurred; and Elizabeth, after spending a few weeks at the farm, danced unchallenged in Boston at a Tory ball. It was rather remarkable that the family could stand, even temporarily, in such high favor with both sides.

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY FORBES AND ELIZABETH
MURRAY.

BOSTON, October 2d, 1775.

MY DEAR FRIENDS, — I had the pleasure to receive your Letter of the 23d by your Aunt, who came upon us as unexpectedly as agreeably and who will find it necessary to stay here for some time to expedite her Niece Anne, who goes for England, fellow passenger with Mrs. Comm-r. Robinson,¹ Mr., Mrs. and Miss Burch and General Jones's Daughter. Mrs. Gordon² has defer'd her voyage till the Spring. Baillie A. goes home next month on a very advantageous prospect. He has received your Cheese and returns his thanks. Padre's³ patron to whom you sent another has been to see your Aunt this morning — says you ought certainly to remain where you are this Winter, and is very glad to hear of your and the boys health. Your Sister, who went out of town against my inclination, tho' with my Consent, must not think of quitting you till your Aunt's return, if then.

¹ Wife of Mr. Robinson of James Otis fame.

² Mrs. Murray's sister.

³ Mr. Forbes.

Our accounts from home by the Cerberus are very agreeable in every Respect. One I may mention to you is that both the army and Inhabitants here are to be plentifully supplied with every Necessary during the Winter. I hope you will be satisfied with minding your farm and seeing your friends, without being inquisitive about the Transactions of the Army in your Neighbourhood. Instead of hunting after News where I may have it daily, of some sort, on the Exchange, I consult my peace and health by labouring in my Garden, leaving the affairs of State to whom they belong.

Padre's letter to me shall be sent you by next Opportunity. Poor man! he seems still to be troubled with the heart burn. You mistake it much, if you imagine any charge about you has been or will be painful to me — quite the reverse. No other expense gives me so much pleasure, and I hope we shall all agree in cutting our Coats according to our Cloth. . . .

Be cheerful and resigned. My love to the Children.
Yours most affectionately.

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY FORBES AND ELIZABETH
MURRAY.

Boston, October 18th, 1775.

DEAR DOLLY AND BETSEY, — Having so good a bearer as Mrs. Hooper, I shall write you all that occurs, as far as may be proper in these times. Knowing your affection for the bearer to be of long standing, I need not recommend her to your and

Betsey's particular care and attention. Your Aunt says she ought to sleep in the middle Room, and one of you to sleep by her in a field bed to be moved from the Entry, for which there are Curtains in the linen press. If she does not carry curtains for her bed, the green curtains must be put up.

Be careful to have the used Chimneys sweep'd once a month by Titus or whom you can get, and give him a Pistareen a time.

As your Ma has such an aversion to the Country and fondness for the Town, it is my design to give up the farm entirely to you two, and when I go out to be as your Guest and Adviser, so it will behoove you to manage with all the economy you can, as you will have no other subsistence. . . . Remember poor Juba¹ &c.

Annexed is an account of things sent out for your family's use and chargd to you. I send your Chest to the Sugar house, as also what things were in the Bureau put in my portmanteau trunk, there to remain under your Aunt's care till there be a better opportunity than this of sending them out, which is likely soon to happen. It is said there will be ere long leave for a very general emigration of the Inhabitants of the town. . . .

ELIZABETH INMAN TO DOROTHY FORBES.

CAMBRIDGE, Tuesday evening, Nov. 3d., 1775.

MY DEAR DOLLY, — Betsy is going to the Ball. She begs you'll send her stays, white satin ribbed

¹ The slave brought from St. Augustine.

ones, best laced ruffles, tucker and some small flowers and a large one. . . . She has to wear colored clothes, therefore must have lace. If your papa and mama are gone before Isaac gives you this, put the things into a trunk and let him put it into the pan-yerds and carry them directly to Betzy. If they are not gone, let them be sent in the carriage. Pray send her fan and a pocket handkerchief; do not omit any of the things. If the things go in the carriage, send Isaac directly back with your pan-yerds that was left there some time ago.

If you can go to the Ball, you may have my white lutstring altered in an hour for you. I'll carry it to Town in the morning with your linen from the wash.

Adieu my Dear,

Yours most affectionately

E. I.

The small flowers are wanted very much, pray send them all.

Enclosed is a letter that came for your papa last winter which I forgot to give him.

Mrs. Forbes was still carrying on the farm with good success, and as averse to moving to town as was Mrs. Inman. "Should we quit the place," she said, in a letter to her father, "it would soon be filled, as Governor Hutchinson's and others are, with all kinds of Rabble, whoever the Committee think fit. Our stock would be sold at Vendue, we might expect everything to go to ruin."

Wood had been cut at Brush Hill in January, as the following memorandum shows.

MILTON, Jan^y 6, 1775.

This may Certify to whom it may Consern that I have with a party of Men from the American Army Cut fifty three & an half Cords of wood on what is Called the Murry Lott at Brush hill.

WM. CLEVELAND, LIEUT.

N. B one half Cord of the above wood was burnt by the party.

It was not surprising that the wood had been taken, as the towns around Cambridge were all expected to furnish a quota of fuel for the army. Milton, as part of Roxbury, was drawn upon, and the best assistance which General Mifflin could give to Mrs. Forbes was the advice in the following friendly letter : —

GENERAL MIFFLIN TO MRS. FORBES.

CAMBRIDGE, 16 October, 1775

DEAR M^{RS} FORBES, — I do not know of any orders for cutting wood on your Farm. M^r Parke my Assistant at Roxbury may possibly have thought of it, but would not send out a party without consulting me.

The Army is in want of wood and will I fear be necessarily supplied by Encroachments on private Property.

If it should unfortunately be the hard Lot of M^{rs} Forbes to posess wood in the Neighbourhood of Roxbury, I give it as my most friendly Advice to send immediately some careful person to agree with

Mr Parke in Roxbury for the wood as it stands & to assist in surveying it. He will give 20/ p^r Cord for Wood delivered in Roxbury & a proportionate Price for wood in Growth.

I will write to Mr Parke & prevent any Injury to the Farm. As to the Wood Cutters, if any must be set to Work, you may depend upon their good Behaviour. Any Complaint from you of ill Treatment will be carefully attended to; and Care shall be taken to prevent their giving you any Trouble.

You have Nothing to do with the Wood Cutters, — they will be supplied with provisions from the Camp. If they presume to take any thing without your Consent they will be punished for it.

If you find it necessary I desire you to show this Letter to the Committee of the Town.

Mr Lynch arrived last Night without his Lady. If it should be in my power to ride to Milton this Week I will attend M^{rs} Mifflin.

I am with Compliments to Miss Murray, Madam,

Your obt Ser —

THO MIFFLIN.

In November or December, regulations concerning passes and interviews were again made stringent, and Mrs. Inman's visits to Boston came near causing the confiscation of some of her property. The circumstances relating to this incident are set forth in the following Memorial of Dorothy Forbes.

TO THE HON^l COUNCIL & HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in Water Town
assembled this 12th Day of December 1775.

The memorial of Dorothy Forbes of Milton in the County of Suffolk most humbly sheweth, That your memorialest now is and was left in possession of a considerable part of the Effects of Elizabeth Inman, wife of Ralph Inman of Cambridge, now in Boston, that during the Troubles of last Summer the said Elizabeth remained at Cambridge till such time as the Danger became so eminent that she was advised by General Putnam and Others to remove to some more distant place for Safety, in consequence of which the said Elizabeth removed herself, Family and what Effects that remained in her hands as per Schedule annexed, to this Town. Since that time the s^d Elizabeth has been so unfortunate as to go into Boston, altho' with a full intent to return with Mr. Inman and Mrs. Hooper or either of them. The latter of whom with her Son has come out and now lives with your memorialest, and your memorial-est is credibly informed that General Howe will by no means even permit the said Elizabeth to have an interview with her friends at the lines. The Committee of this Town now think themselves obliged by the Resolve of Congress of June 21st last to take the Effects out of the Custody of your memorialest, but your memorialest thinks herself entitled to remain in possession of the above Effects agreeable to the Explanation of the above resolve of July 8th, which Says the care of the Committee does not ex-

tend to any part of those estates where there is *any occupant or possession*. Your memorialist therefore prays that she may continue in possession of the above Effects agreeable to the Explanation of the above resolve ; as your memorialist has a very large Fame and glory to maintain and is willing to be accountable to the Hon^l Court and also to pay her taxes and her proportion of the Expenses which may occur in these perplexing times, and as the Committee are in some Doubt about the above resolve your memorialist prays a further Explanation of the Hon^l Court with which she will cheerfully acquiesce, and as your memorialist has conducted herself agreeable to the Continental Congress she prays the prayer of her petition may be granted.

The threatened danger was averted, but interviews continued to be subject to restrictions which made them less productive of pleasure than of pain. Meantime the sugar house, after serving the King's troops for barracks, had been converted into a hospital for patients undergoing inoculation for the small-pox.

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY FORBES AND ELIZABETH MURRAY.

BOSTON, December 15th, 1775.

MY DEAR CHILDREN, — I wrote you through the Lines since our last Interview that it was so short, so embarrassed, and to me so affecting, I should not soon desire a Repetition of it, & that I expected

the Overture for the next meeting would come from you. As this is not like to be the Case, and I am anxious to see you once more before Winter sets in, I have given Gen^l Howe the trouble of another application for a Flag of Truce, and have the promise of three days notice that I may warn you when it may be granted.

Mr. Campbell and all the rest of your friends here are well; many of them happily and quickly over the small-pox: none more so than Mrs. Barnes and Crissy, who are in high Spirits, to embark for London in a few days. Miss Cumming's Niece, Mrs. Smith, gone home. Mrs. Gordon and her family sail this day for Halifax. Mrs. Linzee's Children under inoculation at the Sugar house doing well. Our three Negroes are now in the 9th day of the Eruption, walking about the Town. The Mother had many out distinct and full, — her Children but a few. It is supposed that above a thousand have now had this Distemper by inoculation (Dr. Lloyd 340 to his own share), and scarcely one like to die of it. Among other Subjects are old Mrs. Craddock, Mrs. Harry Loyd and her Sisters. Every body of our Acquaintance has had Resolution, except Dr. Caner and Mrs. G. Deblois, who are imprisoned together in his house, while her younger Children are inoculating at home. You will have time and leave, I doubt not, to send in your boys for it in the Spring. At present I hope you have reason to think they are better in the Country upon Country fare. Mr. Anderson gone for England before

he heard his Vessel from Glasgow was taken — a Loss he will not regard when it meets him in the Bustle of London, though it might have vexed him on the passage in a North East Wind. . . .

I am Your most affectionate Father

JAMES MURRAY.

Ten o'clock.

I have just now obtained leave to see you on Monday next at eleven o'Clock, if the weather will permit; if not, on the first fair day after that you can travel.

Yours, J. M.

Mrs. Fisher, with whom I write this postscript, is anxious to hear of or from her father and mother in your Neighbourhood. Bring word from them.

TO MRS. FORBES at Brush-hill, Milton,
to be left at the late Rev. Mr. Adams's
Minister of Roxbury.

Gage, recalled to England, had sailed away from Boston, as the next letter from Mr. Murray relates, on the 10th of October. Before he left, his friends in Boston drew up an address, in which they expressed their confidence in him and their appreciation of his services. A like address had been presented to Hutchinson upon his departure in June, 1774. Thus "Addresser of Hutchinson" or "Addresser of Gage" came to be a descriptive term set against certain names, in lists of the Tories. James Murray was an "Addresser" of Gage,¹ Gilbert Deblois of Gage and Hutchinson, both.

¹ He would naturally have been among the addressers of Hutchinson also, though he is not so recorded by Sabine.

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY FORBES AND ELIZABETH MURRAY.

BOSTON, January 10th, 1776.

MY DEAR CHILDREN,—Betsey's letter to Mrs. Butler of the . . . which came to hand yesterday, giving such good Accounts of your and your family's health and welfare, makes your friends in town very happy. It makes some amends too for my disappointment on that fine day, Thursday the 28th past, when I went with Mr. Walter to your Roxbury lines in hopes of seeing you and his Nieces. He was also disappointed, and so was Mrs. Loring, whose maternal fondness carried her to know from you about her Child. It would be kind to write her at times, for she is very anxious. And when you can, without giving umbrage to your Protectors, or Suspicion to your Neighbours, obtain leave for another Interview, and can bring with you as healthy and chearful Countenances as you did at our last, your very looks will be a feast to your old Father, tho' not a Word pass.

All your Friends in town, without exception, are well and would be glad to hear frequently from you, if we cannot have the happiness to see you. We congratulate you on your acquisition of so agreeable a Companion as Miss G[oldthwaite]. Her philosophical and musical turn will help to soothe your Cares and beguile the Winter. Mrs. Hooper will entertain you with pleasant stories of the past, and your Resignation and good Spirits may or ought to support your hopes of the future.

We join in wishing you, your family and the rest of our good neighbours in Milton and Dorchester the Compliments of the Season. May your horses be in good plight to be social with them, while there is fine Sleighing. No word yet of or from your Cousin Anne, tho' she sail'd at the same time with General Gage on the 10th October—no account of him neither.

Gov-r. Wentworth's and the Lieut. Governor's Ladies are going home with their families.

Inclosed is a letter from your Aunt Bennet. There is also one from her Sister, but it is illegible, I cannot send it. . . .

There are now letters in town from London as late as the 26th November. Our friends were arrived.

The winter of 1775-6 dragged itself on while Washington waited for ammunition. A few raids here and there from the Americans kept the British on the alert for an attack; yet a real attack, had they known it, was the last thing they needed to fear. But Knox's oxen were on the way. Into Cambridge they plodded at last, with their procession of sledges, a "noble train of ammunition," dragged through snowy forests and over frozen rivers, and destined to drive out of Boston not only Howe's detested army, but also to render homeless many of the most devoted citizens of the town.

The following letter, written less than three weeks before the cannon were planted on Dorchester Heights, is the last bearing the superscription "Boston."

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY FORBES AND ELIZABETH
MURRAY.

Boston, Feb. 14th, 1776.

MY DEAR CHILDREN, — Finding I could not with propriety ask leave to go to the Lines yesterday, as I had been there on the Thursday before and as there were so many of our Town folks on yesterday's party, I wrote a few lines to send out, but these through my Laziness happened not to be in time. When I heard of your having been at the Rendezvous, I was grieved for my having been so much out of Luck. Your letter of the 13th, which you prudently were prepared with, made me no small amends for my Disappointment. I am charmed that you have the happiness of getting Madam and Mrs. Belcher under your Roof. You now live to some purpose, indeed, when you have a house and hearts for an Asylum to such merit in Distress. If any *Necessary* is wanted for these Ladies which this town can afford, I have authority to say it will be permitted to be sent out. I shall not be wanting in procuring it, and I know from your Experience that there is politeness and humanity enough, *on your Side*, to secure the safe delivery.

I have some hopes of leave to be at your Rendezvous at the usual hour on Monday next, if the weather be tollerable; if not, on the first tollerable day, for we must not talk of fine and fair days at this Season. . . .

If we do not meet on Monday or the first fair day, be prepared, as you were last time and as I

shall be if I go, with a letter about anything that occurs, and let us submit them in time to inspection, that there be no room for Suspicion. . . .

The fortification of Dorchester Heights by Washington, while it was a surprise, did not destroy the confidence of the Murrays and other Tories shut up in Boston in the ability of the British army to take care of them. When, therefore, the boats of the British were scattered by the storm, the enemy's works declared too strong to be carried, and the evacuation of Boston pronounced a necessity, the consternation was indescribable.

Men who had lived all their lives in Boston and were part and parcel of it found themselves suddenly compelled to take leave of friends, old associations, and property, and to fly with the army to Nova Scotia.

The departure of Howe was hampered and delayed by the necessity for removing these loyalists. All the transports that were at hand, assisted by such other vessels as could be procured, were inadequate for the purpose. The refugees, on their part, were in a state of distraction between the impossibility of taking with them more than a small part of their possessions, and the difficulty of getting that small part carried to the wharves. Carts of all kinds loaded with every description of household goods hurried through the streets. At the same time soldiers who had plundered deserted mansions, Tory or Patriot, bore off their booty by broad daylight

or left it to strew the streets. Everywhere the disorder was extreme.

Mr. Murray, like the rest, had no recourse but to sail for Halifax with Howe. The Misses Cummings and probably several others went under his protection; seven persons are numbered as comprising his fleeing family. His farewell letters, if he wrote or could send any, have not been preserved. The parting he must have believed to be only temporary, but it was final. He never saw his sister or his children again.

Soon after the evacuation, Mrs. Forbes received a letter from William Hooper, asking for information concerning the family. As Mr. Murray was his uncle by marriage and had exerted himself to the utmost in the care of Mrs. Hooper and her other sons, the inquiry was but natural.

WILLIAM HOOPER TO DOROTHY FORBES.

This, My dear M^{rs} Forbes, is addressed to you from Baltimore, in Maryland, where I now am on my return to Carolina, to my dear dear Annie & my little Bantlings. Long e'er this had I wrote you, but partly my engagements in publick business, in a great measure Indisposition, add to all a want of subject worthy your Attention, conspired to prevent it, & for your comfort have hitherto doomed me to Silence. But I can no longer forbear, and tho' I have nothing but the trouble of perusing it, you must, as you have often done before, submit to my Impertinence. This is a tax you must pay for that intimate friend-

ship with which you have favoured me, & if I err you must look for my Apology in the benevolence of your own heart.

I am extremely anxious to know what change the Alteration of the state of Boston has produced in your Family and those Connections which Blood Intimacy have nearly allied to both of us. Such are the Miseries of Civil dissensions, they sever the most intimate relations. Affections follow diversity of Sentiments, & we hate the man because we disapprove his political opinions. Oh, human Nature what a motley machine art thou! Heaven made thee in thy original perfect, but left the use of thee to the discretion of the Creature, and a pretty business he makes of it. Were you and I to cast a look back upon the happy days we once saw, & date from the period of our Brush Hill festivity, should we not be apt to call in question some part of the providential Arrangement, & pronounce that so much Mischief was not necessary to produce general good? But I am willing to submit hood winked, & wrapped in the consciousness of divine wisdom judge of what is mysterious from what I know, and appeal to futurity for the conviction of the rectitude of the whole. . . .

A Battle has been fought in Carolina. Success has determined in favor of the American Cause, a Cause, my dear M^{rs} Forbes, which I hold dear as my Religion, which I first undertook from principle & which I have to this day persisted in from the most convincing sense of the Justice of it. Should America

be successful, my utmost wishes are answered. No sacrifice that I can make can be too valuable a consideration for such a purchase. My own personal misfortunes, should they be hereafter crowded upon me, & Heaven should mark the residue of my Cup of life with extreme bitterness — all my misfortunes would loose their pungency, if seasoned with the Consolatory reflection that they were the consequence of my Exertions in the cause of freedom. One painful Idea, however, will ever intrude itself upon me, that if I am right, my friends, my Intimates, my Relations are essentially wrong, & errors are this day more than speculative, they extend to practice. . . .

Whatever may be your or my political Opinions, Our friendship has had an origin & has been cemented by offices of kindness which the capriciousness of human fortune cannot shock or alter. No, let the Wreck of time produce what it will, I shall ever treasure you among my first, best & dearest friends. Blast the man that would sully the Connection. I wish for peace, that we may once more under our own Vines & Fig trees enjoy the blessing of domestick peace, that I might enjoy in my own Cabin, eat my Hogg & Hominee without anything to make me afraid.

My Mother and Brother have my warmest Wishes for their Health & Happiness. May the blessings of Heaven fall on that Hand which has so often administered to them comfort as you have done. When I write you, I write them. I feel the same

tender attachment to you & them. Mention me to them most affectionately.

Judge of my anxiety for my Annie, Gov^e Martin lying with his Ships at Dubois's Mill, the battle fought only 15 Miles from her. Maclaine, who married Peggy Dubois, was in the engagement & fled. He is taken before this. I feel for M^{rs} Dubois. Pray offer my most affectionate regards to your Sister. Remember me to Miss Kent, to all your & my friends who care any thing about me. But I must end my Scrawl. I write in a Tavern in a Croud, & long e're this have exhausted your patience.

Adieu, my dear Dolly, says

Your Sincere friend

W^m Hooper.

BALTIMORE, April 2, 1776.

Write me under Cover to Joseph Hewes, esquire, delegate for North Carolina at Philadelphia.¹

After the evacuation Mrs. Inman remained in Boston. Her estate in Cambridge, even then in a ruinous condition, was confiscated. It was from her house in town that Elizabeth wrote the following letter. Fortunately the threat of putting it out of sight, that it might not disgrace her memory at some future day, was never carried out.

¹ William Hooper was also a delegate, and was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

ELIZABETH MURRAY TO DOROTHY FORBES.

BOSTON, June 11, 1776. Tuesday Afternoon,
5 o'clock, not Dressed.

DEAR SISTER — Fenwick carries you a Barrel of Rum, which is 26/ the Gallon. Miss Goldthwaite proposes being with you to-morrow or Thursday morning. She came to town last night. I would willingly give you the Adventures of yesterday, if I thought I should do them justice. The strong impressions they have made upon me renders me incapable of it. In short nothing before or since the Black Cat has ever thrown me into greater agitation of Spirits than the scenes I passed through yesterday ; and, as your curiosity may be a little icited, I will inform you that not many minutes after my Aunt set out for B-Hill Prudence¹ came running upstairs and asked if I had resolution to see the unhappy people you have heard of, to which I answered in the affirmative, and set out immediately for Madam Apthorp's house, the Garden² of which looks into the jail yard. When we arrived there Mrs. Snow conducted us to the fence, where we could see them and hear them speak, but not converse with them. We soon left her and went up toward the common. A number of the Common Soldiers of the Highlanders passed us with a gaurd. I regreted not speaking, so I turned about and persued

¹ Prudence Middleton, one of Mr. Smith's nieces. The Highlanders, of whom she spoke, had recently been captured on board a transport in Boston Harbor.

² This garden covered what is now Pemberton Square. — S. I. L.

as fast as my feet in high heeled shoes would carry me. Vain was the attempt, and we concluded it was best to return in hopes of meeting more when we turned about, and what was [our] surprize to see four Officers with a gaurd. Prudence had told me the Duchess of Gordon's Brother (whose name I knew to be Maxwell) was a Prisoner. That, and the great anxiety I was in for our Uncle, occasioned a wish to speak to them. The first three I had not resolution to stop, but went up to the last and asked the favor of being answered one question, and with a faltering Voice asked if the first Battalion was come out to America. All the Gentlemen turned round when I stopt the last. They informed [me] that Regiment was in England and to remain there. Joyful sound it was to me. Still trembling so as to be incapable of supporting myself without Prudence's assistance, I asked if either of them Gentlemen were Capt. Maxwell. A lovely Youth, who appeared to be about twenty, Bowed an acknowledgment of that name. I enquired for his Mother and Sisters, who he told me he left well in Scotland six weeks ago. Here my voice failed, and we all remained in silence for the space of a minute and parted without another word. 'Tis in vain to attempt a discription of my emotions, at that moment. We went on, and they went to the jail to take leave of their Men, who are to be sent back into the Country to work for their living and, it is expected, will join the American Army. This seperation they say is very painful to the men, who are

still in this town . . . Prudence and I walked through the different Streets in hopes of having one more view of these unfortunate Youths (who are none of them thirty years of age), when, in turning up School street by the King's Chapel, we met some of the Gaurded just come from the jail to bid their Men Adieu. Distress appeared in their Countinences. Prudence and I determined not to speak a second time, but when we came up to them they all stopt, and Maxwell drew near and enquired if I knew his Mother and Sisters, to which I answered I had been frequently in company with them in Edenborough. I asked him in return if he knew Lady Don's family and if they were well, which he told me they were. With almost my former agitation¹ I wished them health and Happiness, and they soon after set out in Paddack's Coach and four for Concord, where they are to stay. If you receive any pleasure from this stupid incorrect scroll you deserve it for the trouble of decyphering it. As soon as I get home I shall make it my business to search for it and put it out of sight, that it may not disgrace my memory in some future day. I am certain the account of my Uncle will make you happy, so 't is no matter if you are put to a little trouble in perusing of it. Kiss Bennet for me, and tell him I do not forget that this is his Birthday, and shall say quietly to myself in the first glass of wine I drink at Dr. Lovell's this evening "God help him, and

¹ They had agitations in those days, but were mercifully saved from nervous prostration. — S. I. L.

make him a Good Man, and Grant that he may never be a Prisoner.”

Some additional bits of information concerning the changed aspect of the farm at Cambridge and the dangers escaped by that of Brush Hill are furnished by a niece of Mrs. Barnes whose initials, E. F., do not further reveal her identity.

E. F. TO MRS. BARNES.

CAMBRIDGE, April 17th.

Now, my dearest Aunt, I take my pen with some spirit, for certainly it cannot be long before I shall not only have an opportunity of sending my letters, but also hearing of you.

Such amazing overturnings have taken place since I wrote the above, that I am at a loss how to express my astonishment. You will, no doubt, long before this reaches you, hear that the King's troops have [evacuated] the town. I have been twice there. Good God! What a scene — deserted by almost all I ever loved or knew. Mrs. Inman still remains among us, a public blessing. From her faithful and friendly hands I received your watch, and guard it as the relick of my Saint. Indeed I needed nothing to recal your dear idea. Every new scene too fatally convinces me of the melancholy change one twelve month has produced, not only in my present situation, but further prospects, sad reverse, indeed! When will Peace with all her smiling train descend and chase the savage passions from this wretched country?

The wanton destruction that presents itself to my view wherever I turn my eyes show in the most lively colors of civil war ruin and desolation spread through the peaceful vales of industry, and such enmity planted between children of the same parents as can never be got the better of, and will not yield to time. You will see by the date of my letter where I am, but you can form no idea of my situation. Only imagine to yourself two unhappy females, from some high misdemeanor driven from the Society of the world and every social pleasure into a wilderness surrounded not by wild beasts, but savage men, and destitute of the conveniences of life. Do this, and it will fall short in many respects of showing our present situation, which is no more nor less than this, that Miss Murray and I are in Mr. Inman's house, just as it was left by the soldiery, without any one necessary about us, except a bed to lodge on & Patrick for a protector & servant, in constant fear that some outrage will be committed if it is once discovered that one of us is connected with Mr. Inman, to prevent which everything is done in my name, and as soon as it is convenient I am going to let the farm and take a family into one end of the house. You would really be diverted, could you give a peep when Mrs. Inman visits us (which is as often as she possibly can), to see Betsey & I resigning our broken chairs & teacups, and dipping the water out of an iron skellet into the pot as cheerfully as if we were using a silver urn.

I cannot tell what it is owing to, unless it is see-

ing Mrs. I.—— in such charming spirits, that prevents our being truly miserable. Tell her friends in England not to lament her being in America at this period, for she is now in her proper element, having an opportunity of exerting her benevolence for those who have neither Spirits or ability to do for themselves. No (other) woman could do as she does with impunity, for she is above the little fears and weaknesses which are the inseparable companions of most of our sex. One would imagine to see her that all was peace and harmony. God grant it may be.

Tell Mrs Powell (for we have fixed you at Norwich) if she was with us, we might put into execution that plan of life we projected together, and where it was wanting in reality we could make up in imagination. Oh! that imagination could replace the wood lot, the willows round the pond, the locust-trees that so delightfully ornamented and shaded the roads leading to this farm. I say, could imagination supply the place of those to the former possessor, how happy — but in vain to wish it, every beauty of art or nature, every elegance which it cost years of care and toil in bringing to perfection, is laid low. It looks like an unfrequented desert, and this farm is an epitome of all Cambridge, the loveliest village in America.

April 25th.

Mrs. Inman, who does every thing to render our situation agreeable to us, yesterday carried us abroad to dine with a large company, that did us the honor

to return and drink tea with us. Among the number was Mrs. Temple and her three sweet daughters, for the lovely Fanny is no more. I am sure it would have grieved you to see her, and at the same time to have recollected her station in life, the distresses this war has involved her in, and the fortitude with which she has borne them. Mr. Temple absent, the farm, her only dependence I believe, almost entirely destroyed, and there was she and the young ladies with all the innocent cheerfulness you can conceive of —

“Like the gay birds that sing them to repose
Content and careless of to-morrow’s fate.”

They sang “Plato’s Advice,” which was so applicable to our situation, and indeed every one’s at present, that it seemed to diffuse the serenity they enjoyed throughout the company, and I must say for myself I never felt anything more sensibly in my life. She has promised to send for us one day next week to Ten Hills. I am sure it will be an agreeable day, and not without many moral lessons.

May 7th.

Since I wrote last Miss Betsey and I have walked to Boston and brought Miss Middleton out with us, who spent several days here, received a morning visit from Mrs. Temple and her niece, and spent a day at Ten Hills. Mrs. Fenton and her family are all there, and Mr. William Temple, who is just arrived from London. Mrs. Fenton gave me several interesting particulars relative to your situation while

in Boston, and likewise that she brought out a letter for Mrs. Bridgen with one annexed for me. I shall not be easy till I receive it, and intend going to Boston for that purpose immediately. Indeed, my dear Aunt, if you could imagine what pleasure a letter from you inspires me with, you would write even in London. If it were not for that I would throw away my pen.

Notwithstanding all the calamities that surround us, we have great reason to be thankful that the seat of war is removed. God grant a speedy conclusion! Mr. Temple's opinion seems to favor my wishes. The talking politicians this side the lines are struck dumb by this last mandate of Government. But stop, my pen, nor dare to stray into a subject which is surrounded with danger and difficulty. No doubt you will hear poor Betsey Liddell is a widow. I have a thousand trifling affairs to inform you of, but fear swelling the size of my letter too much, so will bid adieu for the present. Affectionate regards to my little Chrissy.

BRUSH HILL, May 17.

MY DEAREST AUNT, — This amiable family are going to be involved in new troubles. Did I fear for myself alone, I should be happy compared with what I now suffer, for I have nothing to fear from the malevolence of man, and Physical evils must be patiently submitted to; but when I see the few but valuable friends I have remaining upon the point of becoming destitute like myself, my heart sinks

within me, and I cannot avoid exclaiming, Great God! surely for all these things the people shall be brought to judgment. I am hunted from one retreat to another, and since I left your Ark, like Noah's Dove, can find no resting place. The Committee at Cambridge have let Mrs. Inman's farm in spite of all her assiduity to prevent it, and the same tribe of Demons have been to take this into possession during the life of Mr. Murray. How unhappy would that goodman be if he had any knowledge of it! I hope he will remain in ignorance as long as it conduces to his tranquility. When this affair will end God knows! At present the people succeed in everything. I am sure Mrs. Inman's spirits will forsake her when she finds this family is in so much trouble. I have been disappointed in everything since my last writing. Even the letter I was in pursuit of Mrs. Bridgen never received, to her great mortification. I hope, as it is missing, it is of no great consequence.

Nature is all blooming and benevolent around us. I wish to Heaven she could inspire the breasts of this deluded people with the same affectionate glow towards each other! but every social virtue seems to have taken flight with peace to happier regions, and left us miserable mortals involved in clouds and darkness, without one cheerful ray to point the way to happiness. *May eternal curses fall on the heads of those who have been instrumental to this country's ruin.*

MARLBOROUGH, June 9th, 1776.

MY DEAREST AUNT, — Business has made it necessary that I should once more visit a place to which I thought I had bid a last adieu. It is now three months since I have heard one word of Boyd, or those effects deposited in his hands, & I made no doubt in that time he had had frequent opportunities of conveying them either to me or Mr. Clark, if he meant honestly. Whichever that is the case or not, Heaven knows. He still refuses giving them to me, declaring it is not in his power. Capt. Davis is of a contrary opinion, but what can be said or done in times like these, that authorize every species of injustice? I told him I did not think it would be in my power to take another journey, and as Mr. Clark was my Uncle's attorney I would advise him, when he could with convenience, to put them in his possession, and he (Boyd) should be rewarded for his trouble. He replied with an air of indifference that he should like to give them to the right owner, though he does not seem inclined to take one step for that purpose, and I dare say thinks he has as good a right to it as any one. I have been here since Tuesday, and shall go to-morrow at sunrise, for you can easily imagine that there is nothing in this place that can induce me to stay a day longer than is absolutely necessary. Yesterday I took a walk to the Distil house, which is now turned into Salt Petre works, and from being the Pool of Bethesda is made use of to manufacture a commodity for the destruction of the human species.

All your furniture removed over to the shop chamber, except the family pictures, which still hang in the Blue Room, & the Harpsichord that stands in the passage way, to be abused by the children and servants in passing through. Mr. Knox found it inconvenient to be moving furniture, so has taken nothing but the Linnen, which at this juncture is by far the most valuable part. I find my fears on that head were not groundless, & I suppose the pretense of my Uncle's making an exchange was a piece of chicanery in order to succeed without opposition. Katy Keyes lives in Worcester, Lavinia with her sister, and Daphney is to remain in Capt. Davis' family till the town is entirely free from the infection of the Small Pox. She appears very grateful that her son is left behind, and intends keeping house with him when she leaves this family. Adieu! May every present and future good be constant and faithful attendants on you & my dear Uncle, and sometimes think on your unhappy niece, who now bids farewell to this place forever.

BRUSH HILL, June 16th.

Rejoice with me, my dear Aunt, *this infernal crew* cannot succeed in taking the farm from this amiable family. The Almighty Father of infinite perfection will not permit them to prosper in all their wickedness, but bounds their power, and shields the virtuous from the threatened blow. May it be so to the end, and may our rulers ever be able to discriminate between those who have acted from a

well meant but perhaps deluded & false notion of serving their country and those who have nothing further in view than to pull down all above them to their own level. Oh Heavens! how I wish for a final period to this dreadful contest, and yet dread the insolence of Victory. I insensibly wander into a subject I ought to avoid, but you cannot wonder, as it so nearly effects not only myself but every individual this side the Atlantic. It is reported here that Gen. Burgoyne is crossing the Lake with a victorious army & that the poor remains of the American Army have retreated to Ticonderoga, after having encountered dangers & difficulties that can be only equalled by Hannibal passing the Alps. If it might be productive of Peace I should rejoice. The Small pox is again going through the town of Boston, and people are as solicitous now to have as formerly to fly from this dreadful distemper. You will easily believe this when I tell you the three Miss Barkers are now under inoculation. I hope they will have more to show for it than you & Chrissey, as I greatly fear, from the account Mrs. Inman gives me, you will both run the risk of catching it in the natural way. All Capt. Davis' family are in town, and Daphney among the rest. Mrs. Forbes' little ones are at Mrs. Inman's, and Tom Swan, Jr., with Miss Polly Speakman to take care of him. You can have no idea of the melancholy situation of Madam & Mrs. Belcher. They left Brush Hill with a design of building immediately, instead of which [no] materials nor workmen are to

be procured, and they are under a necessity of making use of their out houses to shelter them from the weather ; the coach house is their dining room, and Fowl house their bed-chamber, but the old lady looks majestic even there, and dresses with as much elegance as if she was in a palace. Mrs. Belcher has all along supported her spirits to a marvel, but now her health is so bad, her friends think her far gone in a consumption ; but age has so far befriended the old Lady that notwithstanding Mrs. Belcher has ever shone in the character of a daughter, and been a faithful prop to her declining years, she views her approaching dissolution with less agitation than she beheld the flames consuming her house. Miss Winslow is with them still, and their distresses are so great that they have disposed of their plate to purchase necessities. Adieu, my dear Aunt. I do not intend to take my pen again till I have a prospect of either hearing from you, or forwarding my letters.

Sept. 25th.

At length, my dearest Aunt, the *long wished* for moment is arrived that presents an opportunity for sending my letters. Mrs. Fenton is going home to England in a vessel that has obtained leave from those in power, and unless detained by the populace, who are more variable than the winds, will sail in a few days. There is very great news from New York, which I imagine you have more authentic accounts of than we have. Mr. Bob Temple is expected in town in a few days, by whom I flatter

myself I shall hear particularly from you, if I have no letters. . . . I have perused what I wrote at different times, and think I have been sufficiently cautious, and as particular as I can be in everything I thought you would wish to know, and when the present distraction of the times is subsided I promise myself the pleasure of a journal of all the maneuvers and occurrences, or if you think the request too unreasonable make Christy your amanuensis. It will be a high gratification to me, and I shall endeavour by every method in my power to make her some compensation for the trouble. . . .

Pray give my affectionate duty to my Uncle. Love to Christy and all my American acquaintances you may meet with on the other side of the water. Miss Betsey Barker & her niece Sally have been here for several days. The latter is writing to you at the other end of the table, so it will be needless for me to give you an account of their family, which I dare say she intends doing herself. Mrs. Forbes & Miss Murray join me in every tender wish for your happiness, that you may again be restored to your native country, to your friends, and above all to the arms of your dutiful niece.

All friends well.

Jan. 1777.

Your E. F.

CHAPTER V

IN EXILE

1776-1781

Now began for James Murray the weary life of banishment, the pathos of which was so many times repeated in the history of the Revolutionary exiles.

He went first to Halifax, then an extremely primitive settlement, where he established his wife with her sister, Mrs. Gordon, who had preceded them. But he could not be content to stay so far from his sister and children, and soon, as he puts it, he came "creeping toward" them, hoping at least to be able more easily to communicate with them and to serve them by sending occasional supplies. He visited Newport, New York, and Philadelphia. Evidently, however, he found himself no nearer the accomplishment of his wishes in New York than in Halifax, and to Halifax in 1778, after some two years spent in profitless wandering, he returned. There he remained for the rest of his life.

His letter from New York is short and non-committal.

JAMES MURRAY TO ELIZABETH INMAN, DOROTHY
FORBES, AND ELIZABETH MURRAY.

NEW YORK, November 7th, 1776.

MY DEAR SISTER AND CHILDREN, — . . . I am . . . glad of this opportunity to acquaint you of my health and Welfare and of my Intention of creeping toward you with the first fit Conveyance, which it is still hoped will happen before Christmass. Some Refugees of us have now fixt in Quarters about five or six miles from New York, where we live very quiet and retired, well supplied with the necessaries of Life, much more comfortably than we could be at Halifax. There your Sister and Servants remain in her own house for the Winter.

The Capt., Mrs. Linzee and Children, lately returned to this harbour, are all well, and so is George,¹ now an Ensign in the 17th Regiment much esteem'd in the Army.

I had the happiness of hearing that Mr. Inman, you Ladies and the boys were all well in September. A Mr. Campbell, who came with Mr. Reid from Boston, brought this word.

By the last Accounts from St. Augustine, Mr. Forbes and Son were well. He is appointed Chief Justice, for the time, in the room of Mr. Drayton, whom the Governor has Suspended and who is gone to England with Doctor Turnbull. Remember me sincerely to Brother Inman and be assured that I am

Most affectionately yours.

¹ George Inman, son of Ralph Inman.



ELIZABETH MURRAY (MRS. ROBBINS)

From another exile, Thomas Hutchinson, then in London, Mr. Murray had received an interesting letter¹ which emphasizes Hutchinson's affection for his country, as he always called America, and is, in sentiment, quite indicative of Mr. Murray's own feelings on the subject of the war.

THOMAS HUTCHINSON TO JAMES MURRAY.

LONDON, NEW BOND STREET, March 3, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for a very obliging letter of the 12th January from Newport. It gave me pleasure to reflect that I had wrote to you, some weeks before the receipt of your letters, to New York. I am glad to hear that you have met with no more difficulties since you left Boston. I have advantages here beyond most of the Americans, as I have a very extensive acquaintance with the best people; but I prefer the *natale solum* to all other: and it will give me great pleasure to hear you are peaceably settled at Brush-hill, and that I may settle as peaceably on Unkity Hill. I hope to live to see not only my Milton neighbors, but the people of the Province in general, convinced that I have ever sincerely aimed at their true interest; and that, if they had followed my advice, they would have been free from all that distress and misery which the envious, restless spirits of a few designing men have brought upon them.

I have been charged in America with false and unfavorable representations of the people there. I

¹ Now printed in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. vol. v. [1860-1862].

am charged here with neglecting to give advice of their intentions to revolt, and representing the body of the people as disposed to live quietly under the authority of Parliament, and to take no exception to any other acts than those of taxation, which I ever endeavored to discourage. . . .

I am obliged to you for inquiring into the State of my farm on Conanicut. I had been improving it by fencing, planting, &c, for near forty years ; but all my labor is lost. And I fear my estate in Milton is not in much better order. At least eleven hundred pounds sterling was taken out of my house, and off the farm, in movables. I know not how to obtain redress. . . .

I say nothing about public affairs, nor do I concern myself with them : nor am I ever inquired of or consulted about them ; and I am glad I am not. It is astonishing, considering the immense expense of this war, and the stop put to the American trade, that nobody seems to feel it. Every merchant and manufacturer, except a few who were factors for America, are as full of business as ever ; and, in the manufacturing towns, they are fuller of business, from the increase of demand in other branches, than before the American War. With this amazing empire it is the unhappy case of my poor country to contend. May God Almighty, in mercy, put an end to this contest ! Your brother's family is well. Adieu ! I am y^r faithful, humble serv^t

T. H.

JAMES MURRAY, Esquire, of Milton,
in Mass. Bay. At Newport, R. I.

The Barneses, too, wrote to Mr. Murray. They had fled to England and were among the notable group of loyalists settled in Bristol.¹ Their property in Marlborough was confiscated, their household goods scattered. Limited in means, but still possessed of irrepressibly cheerful spirits, Mrs. Barnes continued at intervals to write to her friends amusing accounts of her domestic doings and of the society in which she moved.² But, as her path was

¹ Their first home was in Caunon's Marsh, Bristol. Afterward they removed to King Street, where they had a "grand old edifice," from which could be seen "the Play House, the Assembly House, the Merchants Hall and the Merchants Library."

² On April 1st, 1786, she wrote to the Misses Barker: "Wee have seventeen American familys in Bristol, very Genteel well bred People, all of one heart, and one mind. In this circle we are tretted with Cordiality and respect, being quite upon a footing with them in the stile of Vissitiog which is no more than Tea and cards — a little parade (to be sure) is nessisary upon these ocations in order to keep up the Ball, but as it is not attended with much Expence we readily consent to follow the Lead." One more extract may be given as an aside. It is from a letter of hers written to the Misses Barker on September 5th, 1786, some time after Mrs. Inman's death: "Spent some part of yesterday in foolishly endeavoring to decorate my sweet person, being engaged to a rout at Mrs. Maud's. Before this business of importance was over, it began to rain; this did not put a stop to my proceeding, for as hackney coaches and chairs are always to be had, it is not expected any weather will prevent your fullfilling your ingagement, but this additional expence attending our tea vissits I have ever carefully avoided, so, with my umbrella over my head, and pattens on my feet at six o'clock I tript away like a fairy. I know you will smile at the comparison, but I do assure you that a new pair of stays has thrown me almost into the form of a milkmaid. My short waist, which once caused your sister Sally to exclaim violently, is now of a proportionable length. As I do not design to trouble you again with an account of my dress and appearence I will now finish all I have to say upon the subject. I wore on my head a new tate which I purchased not from nessesity, for my hair is in much the same state

now a widely divergent one, her letters must be passed by, and we must take of her a reluctant farewell.

To add to Mrs. Inman's trials, when those she loved were slipping from her and her worldly possessions also were taking wing, her nephew, John Murray, announced his intention of quitting the business house of Clark & Nightingale in Providence, where he was receiving a mercantile training, and of joining the American army. His letter to Mrs. Inman is not with the family papers, but her protest to John Innes Clark and her cautious note to the youth himself are as follows: —

ELIZABETH INMAN TO JOHN INNES CLARK.

BOSTON, January 4th, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — Words are wanting to express my surprise and concern at reading J. Murrays letter by Mr. Sherry. I hope I never have nor never will give so much pain to an enemy as this does to me who has gloried in thinking I was his Aunt and friend. I have ever been proud of your Candor, generosity, Humanity, friendship and affection to me. I now rely on these good qualities and your promise. If your and Mr. Nightengale's authority

as formerly, but from a principle of frugality, & to save trouble. . . . I have dismembered a pair of past earrings to make handkerchiefs and hair pins, which, with my good Uncle Perries watch by my side gives me no contemptible figure. Have I done? Why no I have not; I ware in my shoes a pair of stone buckles presented to me by my much lamented friend Mrs. Inman, and a ring upon my finger sent to me from Norwich, as a mento of our mutual friendship, the recollection of which thros a damp upon my spirits and obliges me to put aside my scribbling."

is not sufficient to Check this youth I beg you'll make an errand for him to Boston. When I took him from his Fathers House I looked on myself as accountable to Him for the boy till he arrived at the age of 21. At that time I intended to advise him to visit his family and consult with them about settling. If he determins on taking up arms against them, farewell to his Fathers and Mothers happiness. They will bid adieu to their eldest darling Son and end their days in sorrow. Their fondness for him made them expect he would be the stay of the large family and the support of their old age. How blasted then their hopes. For God's sake let it not be. Assist me in Clearing him. Consider you have children, tho' young; you do not like disabedience in them, how would oposition like this affect you.

My respects to your Ladys. I expected to see them before Christenmas. Their company will give me pleasure. Adieu.

ELIZABETH MURRAY TO JOHN MURRAY.

Boston, January 4th, 1777.

DEAR JACK, — I received yours by Mr. Sherry. I think you take leave in an easy manner. I ask'd your Cousin to allow you to come here before Christenmas. He used to take a jaunt from London to Wells at that season. Are not you as much attached to your friends as he was to his? If you are you will intercede with Messrs Clark and N—— to visit me before you quit being a Merchant.

Her nephew was, apparently, by her persuasions, kept from carrying out his intentions.

In June, 1777, Mr. Murray was again in New York, though he had previously spent some time in Newport. His letter of that date is more communicative than his last.

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY FORBES AND ELIZABETH MURRAY.

NEW YORK, June 19th, 1777.

DEAR CHILDREN, — I have already wrote to you since my return hither, by the Flag which brought in Mr. Ben. Davis; then I told you that my return was occasioned by your Mamma; the good people at Halifax having persuaded her that Rhode Island would certainly be retaken by the Provincials. Since my arrival I have wrote to her inviting her and the Miss Cumings to this place, when a safe conveyance offers.

I have lodged three weeks with Mr. Mackay, who has sold out of the 52d and whose wife, with good prospects, has commenced shop keeper. Yesterday I came to lodge at Mr. Bamber's² on Long Island, opposite New York, a pleasant place, with the rivers,

¹ The only Benjamin Davis mentioned by Sabine (vol. i. p. 359) is the Addresser of Hutchinson and of Gage. He went first to Halifax, but afterwards set out for New York, and was captured on his way and carried to Marblehead, and thence to Boston, where he was, in October, 1776, imprisoned. If he is the Mr. Davis mentioned by Mr. Murray, he must have been set at liberty and allowed to proceed to New York early in the summer of 1777.

² Mr. Bamber's was at what is now the corner of Willow and Clark streets, Brooklyn.

the shipping and city under the eye, good gardens, orchards and green fields under foot, in the neighbourhood of Mrs. Linzee, Mr. Ward, Col. Tyng¹ and Mr. Walter and their families. I could be no where so agreeable from home; so I have good reason, having good health and spirits to relish all this, to be thankful and to wait with patience and resignation the issue of this dispute, especially as I hear you pass your time more peaceably than many others do. I shall not forget to be grateful, when in my power, to those who treat you and Brother and Sister Inman well.

Mr. Powell, as I wrote you, has made a genteel settlement on his Son, to enable him to prosecute his studies. The young family has taken a little house at Lambeth and have a Son. . . .

Capt. Mulcaster, now one of Gen. Howe's Aid-de-Camps, wishes to see Mrs. Forbes and her Boys, says Mr. Forbes and Jammie were well by the last accounts. That Mr. Drayton was reinstated as Chief Justice, I have wrote to Mr. F. by a Vessel which lately sailed for St. Augustine. . . .

Polly's Merchants have made her very genteel offers. I have sent for the remainder of her goods to come hither and to be insured. Goods find here a good market and ready money.²

¹ Probably William, son of Commodore Tyng. (See Sabine's *Loyalists of the Am. Rev.* vol. ii. p. 369.) He went from Halifax to New York when the royal troops entered that city.

² Mary Murray's goods were given into the care of Mr. Thomas Robie, a refugee settled in Halifax.

I do not address this either to Brother or Sister Inman, imagining they are not desirous of correspondents, in these times.

Let your letters for me be directed to care of Messrs. Coffins and Anderson, New York. Mr A. gone to London to bring out another large assortment. That house, very deservedly, has the ball at foot; the present gale is in their favour.

Captain Sainthill with whom I dined to-day at Mrs. Linzee's gives us the latest and most particular accounts of our friends in Boston that we have had for some time.

By the latest letters from the refugees at home, many of them eagerly wish for an opening to return, notwithstanding the great attention paid to them there. I have a letter from Mr. & Mrs. Barnes of February 17th. They were well and desirous to hear frequently from this side. I strive, at times, to gratify them. The Doctor and his numerous family were well in February, as his letter to his Son says. I shall desire Jack, if at Providence, to peruse these letters and forward them to you. Had my interview with your Cousin John Innes Clark at Newport been as deliberate and free as I wished, most of these letters would have been sent by him; as it was, they could not be delivered to him without giving much trouble to the Secretary, with whom I was not acquainted.

When in a former letter I expressed my desire to return to Brush-hill and to take that for my prison, could you find no other motive for that than

necessity? Your apprehensions about my salary being withheld are groundless. Government is disposed rather to add than diminish at such a time as this.¹

God bless and preserve you all — that is

Adieu.

¹ Mr. Murray continued to receive some salary from England for three or four years after leaving Boston. In 1777 his friend Charles Stewart wrote that the sum of about £150 a year might be depended on. Extracts from Mr. Stewart's letters are as follows : —

April 14, 1777. "If you dont think of coming home soon, it will be better to send a letter of Attorney to some friend here to receive from the Cashier & Paymaster of His Majesty's Customs in North America the Salary that now is or shall hereafter become due unto you as Inspector &c. — and if you think proper to insert my name with a power of substitution, I will substitute some person who may sign the proper receipts for you here, and it shall be no expense to you ; and if you find it necessary for your present support or Mrs. Murray's, you may draw on me for the remainder of your Salary as it shall become due. I could have readily got your leave of absence renewed, but it is not worth while to put you to any expence about it.

"The power of our Board ceased upon their leaving America, but the Treasury have granted Warrants on me for paying the salaries from 5 July last as usual, also to all the Officers of the Outports now in England and the Officers in the Colonies not in Rebellion. Most of the Officers now at home, & those also of whose offices depended chiefly on fees, receive also a further allowance from 30 to £100 a year and other sufferers from 50 to £300 a year, for their present subsistence."

August 28, 1777. "I desired you to send a letter of Attorney for receiving your salary, or, if more agreeable, send a receipt for £187-10- for your Salary as Inspector of Imports & Exports of the Customs in North America from 5 July 1776 to 10 October 1777, and send one quarterly afterwards for £37.10— as the salary shall become due. Without such receipts or an Attorney signing for you, I cannot take credit for your Salary in my books.

"The late news from the Northern Army gives us great Spirits & we will be daily looking out for further agreeable accounts from both.

June 21st.

Yesternight I heard the following articles of intelligence, which may or may not be news to you. W. H., affronted that Mr. Hughs, his Brother delegate, was left out in election, resigned his seat in Congress : Mr. Harnett chosen in his room. Mrs. Cobham, Maurice Moore, General James Moore dead. Billy Campbell succeeds to an estate of ten thousand pounds by the Will of his Wife's Brother, who died in Jamaica. Tedy Gregg and Burgwin still at homes, in England one, in Ireland another. Billy and Sam C—— and Bob Schaw will be obliged to leave Carolina for not taking the oaths to the states, and so must several Scotch, for the like crime. John Rowan still at Barbadoes. Several Refugees, to be out of the way, have gone to live at Point Repose. Mr. Ancrum high Whig. Mr. Rutherford not molested. Fanny well married at home to a Mr. Menzie — his two sons under Ld. Townsend's protection put to a free school in England. L. 700 Ster. of Col. Innes estate, which had been many years in Governor Dinwiddie's hands, recovered for carrying on this education. This is all I can recollect.

Yours affectionately.

A letter from Elizabeth Murray to her father shows what trying times these were for the loyalists remaining in Massachusetts.

ELIZABETH MURRAY TO JAMES MURRAY.

BRUSH-HILL, Oct^r 29th 1777.

Not having heard from you, my Dear Sir, since the month of June, when we received your two very pleasing letters of that month, accompanied by the large packet from our Friends on the other side the Atlantic, which gave us inexpressible pleasure, I am again induced to take up the Pen in hopes of having an answer by the return of the Cartel. You are too well acquainted with our anxieties to deny us that satisfaction if it is in your power to gratify us, therefore I will not trouble you with a repetition of the pain your silence occasions, but proceed to a plain state of facts which may be most interesting to you. My Aunt, M^r I, & all our other connexions enjoy their usual good share of health. As to our spirits, Sir, I leave you to judge of them from the late event of a public Nature.¹ Silence upon that subject is necessary, so I can only say that all your friends are much in the same situation as when I last wrote except our own family which has met with a material . . . alteration which we have wished much to have the melancholy consequences of unha. past been encreasing the miseries of this once peaceful Country. Exclusive of the anxiety we suffered in being seperated from so many beloved Friends we have not been exempt from the other inconveniences arising from the Public calamity. Labour being at such an exorbitant price, as well as every Necessary

¹ Probably the surrender of Burgoyne.

which the Farm did not produce, with the addition of the most intolerable Taxes, presented the very disagreeable prospect of hourly involving ourselves in debt, without a single expectation of being extricated; our Cousin, J. I. C.,¹ upon a visit here in the month of July, & having no settled place of abode, we with my Aunt's consent made an offer of the Farm to him for one Year, which he accepted, & has been here for the last three Months with M^{rs} C. and their only Child, a Boy of three years old. My Sister & her youngest Son continue in their family. Jack has been several Months in Town with my Aunt attending school. I am sometimes in Town, & sometimes here. M^{rs} H.² & her Son upon this new arrangement . . . d to M^{rs} Winslow's of Braintree where we pay Nine m. which is now thought very moderate three for the latter. M^{rs} H. is become as good health as ever she was. As she has received nothing from M^r Erving for two years & her expences are so great, she must soon draw upon him for £100^{stg}. It would not be improper to have her Son Tom³ (who has lately been a favourite of Fortune) informed particularly of her situation. I inclose a letter from Miss G——t.⁴ She desires her respects may be offered to you, & begs the favour of having the letter directed properly, & forwarded. She will spend the Winter here I believe, in compliance with the kind invitation of M^r and M^{rs} C,

¹ John Innes Clark.

³ He was in North Carolina.

² Mrs. Hooper.

⁴ Miss Goldthwaite.

whose family will be large enough to form an agreeable Fire Side for the ensuing Season. M^r C has Hired three Men to work upon the Farm, seems inclined to make every improvement in his power, & must certainly succeed in it better than we could.

The present circumscribed way of writing renders it a disagreeable task, which must be an excuse for my not writing to my Friends on the other side the Water.

. . . I wrote to my Cousin Mary some Months ago for some Shoes & a pair of Stays to be sent to you with the Acc^t of them, which I must ask the favor of you to discharge, & keep the articles till a favorable opportunity offers of sending them. We begin to feel the want of wearing apparel so much that we are under the necessity of requesting you should there be any Person coming in the Cartel or otherwise who may be confided in to send us 1 *dozen pair of Cotton Stock^{gs}*, 1 *doz: p^r or 1/2 doz: of Rusel or everlasting Shoes, Mode or Sattin with lace, lining, & all the materials for making a black Cloak & Bonnet*, these by no means to be sent but by a person of known honor & honesty. . . .

JAMES MURRAY TO MRS. FORBES AND E. MURRAY.

PHILADELPHIA, February 11th, 1778.

MY DEAR CHILDREN, — On the Receipt of my Betsey's Letter of the 29 Oct^r, I wrote the 24 Dec^r to James Dall at Messrs Coffin's and Andersons in New York to send out by a safe hand the articles by her desired. I have Mr. Dall's answer that he would

do so and expect by the next Vessel his Account of them.

The greatest Inconvenience of my Situation here is that of being out of the way of hearing from my Family and Friends so frequently as I wish. To remedy this, I purpose to return, when the season will permit, to Rhode Island. But whether I shall first go to Halifax to fetch your Mamma and her Servants or send for them thither, I have not yet determined. This will depend on the Conveyance that may offer, or on the public Movements that may be like to take place. But I shall strive to avoid such a tedious wandering as the last Summer and Autumn gave me. One great Inducement to be at Rhode Island, I shall be at hand to send you some of the Necessaries you stand most in need of, you concerting for their safety at and from Providence. Mr. Ed. Winslow is to supply his Father that way. . . .

I was sorry to have missed the York Sloop, a Flag which sail'd the other day for Boston before I was apprised of it, but am happy to have the favour of Mr. Clark to make me amends for that Loss. Capt. Linzee and George¹ will also write by him. All your friends here are well and hearty, hoping you preserve spirits equally cheerful and good. Remember me affectionately to my Friends. I wrote to Mr. Barnes and inclosed Miss G's Letter. No word from St. Augustine. Adieu.

i. e. — May God preserve and support you in the

¹ George Inman.

firm persuasion that Almighty Power will over-rule and direct, not only the present little Contest, but all Events in such Manner as to Infinite Wisdom and Goodness seems fittest and best.

MRS. FORBES AND MISS MURRAY
At Brush-hill, Milton. Favoured by Mr. Clark.

[List of articles sent and directions as to their transportation:]

6 y^{ds} everlasting or Rusel for Shoes,
12 pair middling sized Mens Stock^{gs},
Black Sattin or Mode for a Cloak & Bonnet,
Lining, Lace, Ribbon Sewing Silk for the same,
2 y^{ds} white figured Gause,
3 y^{ds} Black D^o,
6 y^{ds} Blond Lace,
6 y^{ds} Black D^o,
some narrow & wide Pink & white Ribbons.

If leave can be obtain'd for these articles to be sent, think it the safest way to commit them to the care of some of the Captains or other Gentlemen that come round in the transports for Gen^l: B. Army. If M^r M.—— is not at New York would be glad to have the Acc^t sent with them & a Bill for the Amount shall be sent by the first oppor^y.

Whether or not he left Philadelphia before the evacuation or again witnessed the abandonment of an American city by the British troops, the letters do not say. One disappointment after another discouraged him, however, whenever he planned to

reach his children, and in September, 1778, came the Act of Banishment to make the separation more complete. His name was on the list of those who were forbidden to return to Massachusetts, and for a time he did not dare even to write to his immediate family.

JAMES MURRAY TO JOHN INNES CLARK.

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, Dec. 28, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — Taking the Hint of a few lines from Mrs. F—— to Captain Mul[caster], I carry on my Correspondence with you in preference to my nearer Connexions, in the belief that I shall thereby give less perplexity to them and less Umbrage to the executive Powers of your State. Let this suffice for an Apology to you and them.

The last Cartel not returning hither has been a great Disappointment to all of us who had Friends and Relations with you from whom we were anxious to hear. So desirous is your old Uncle to know how his Family and friends fare and to afford the means of Departure to such of them who choose it, that he has had it in Contemplation to go a Passenger in this Cartel, the Master of which (Dunlap) is of his Acquaintance; but his Friends tell him that the Depth of Winter, joined to the Winter of his Life, would be too severe for him on your Coast. This added to the Anxiety of Mrs. M., who suffered much in her health by his late two years Absence, has postponed, not laid aside, the Intention of his Voyage; for he cannot entertain so mean an Opin-

ion of your Magistrates as to suspect that any of them would vex or molest even a *proscribed Refugee, far past his speed*, for coming *peaceably in a Cartel* to carry off any of his belongings which can be of no use to them. With these dispositions you may expect to see this same Uncle of yours, if any opportunity like this offers in the Spring. He is the more anxious to make this Visit, that he may bring off what choose to come and take leave of those that mean to stay, previous to the Voyage which he and Mrs. M. purpose for England in the Course of next Summer. He has been loth to quit this Shore and will be Loth, while there is a glimmering of Hope of returning to his beloved abode in Peace and credit.

We shall know early in the ensuing year whether G. Britain means to exert herself to cut up Independency by the Roots, or whether she intends to consent or Connive to the Propagation of that blessed Plant, with the fruits of which you expect to be regaled and enriched. In the latter Case, we Refugees must make the best Shift we can. They will suffer most who have most to loose, who are the most attached to their Wealth, and who have many Days and a large family to enjoy it. [Your] Uncle has but little to lose, a few days to live, a small family to subsist, and is as detached from the world as most people. Therefore if America acts — herself, he may not only be easy, but rejoice; but if she will only play the fool in quitting the substance for the shadow, as many men of

many minds have done before her — No more of politics.

If my Children and Grand Children, all or any of them, finding a proper Company, choose to come with the Return of this Cartel, I have no objections ; they shall meet with a hearty Welcome and the best reception we are able to give. There will be no Want of the Necessaries of Life, however short they may be kept as to the Fineries of it. But if they are not very uneasy in their present Circumstances, I do not insist on their Company, till it can be had with more convenience to all Parties. My Health has not been better these several years, having but a small and easy share of that Debility which attends age. They may depend I will not leave this side of the Atlantic without first seeing my Family and dearest Friends.

We have advice of a few necessaries that were sending by our Friend Mr. A. from New York in a Cartel for the Convention Troops. Hope they arrived safe. If any further supply is wanted you or they will be pleased to let me know.

Wishing you all the compliments of the season and an honourable peace in the course of the year

I am Dear Sir

Your affectionate Uncle.

Mrs. Murray was eager to go to England, but her husband clung to the land which held his children. "For your Pa's part," he wrote them, in April, 1780, when he was almost persuaded to go, "it will be

with much reluctance that he will leave America, where he has enjoyed so many happy years." Three months later he had definitely decided to remain in Halifax, and Mrs. Murray, in spite of all her plans, did not leave him. Some solace for being again baffled in his efforts to visit Massachusetts he may have found in purchasing the articles for "Mrs. Inman, Daughter Forbes, E. M., and boys Jack and Ralph," mentioned in the list appended to his August letter.

JAMES MURRAY TO ELIZABETH MURRAY.

HALIFAX, August 2d, 1780.

MY DEAR BETSEY, — As you the most frequently favour me with your Correspondence, you are the best entitled to Returns in kind: With the rest we must be content to preserve and cultivate a Silent regard and Affection, till times mend.

Annexed is a list of things sent you by Mr. Bean's Cartel, which I hope you have by this Time received safe. For the story of his detention here, I refer to him. He, Mr. White, and other passengers deterr'd me from sending you some pieces of Linen by the last Cartel, assuring me it would be seized on its arrival with you. I was afterwards laugh'd at, by others for my Simplicity and Credulity, being assured that your rulers had too much honour to seize a small supply of Necessaries sent by a Refugee, for the use of his family. Upon the strength of this, I now send the Articles mentioned in the second Mem-o, which I wish safe to you. One piece of the linen,

you'll observe is for Miss Peggy McNeill at Mr. Jno. Boises, 25 yds. at 3/ L.3.15, and is in part of L.4.6.4 I received for her from Mr. Hill. For the remaining 11/4 please to let her have the value in everlasting and binding.

I proposed to have made you a Visit in this Cartel, but was politely refused by our Lieu^t. Gov^r, whether in diffidence or in Compassion to me I know not. I have not now, as formerly, the honour to be acquainted with the Governors and Rulers in the Land.

Since my last, which attended a Letter from your Aunt Bennet to you and another from me to my Boy Jack Forbes, I have received the inclosed for you, forwarded by Mr. Deblois, and another from him to his Mrs. Deblois. Letters also from the Doctor and Polly, hers from Portsmouth so late as 6th May. She had been convoying her Sister Powel, who was there to embark with one of her three boys on board the Beaver, Capt Powel, to join her Husband at Quebec. All our Friends at home were well.

Since I cannot get to you, you shall be welcome here to me, provided you meet with good Company for your Passage, and do not run the risk of being carried to New York, by the Prisoners, as other Cartels have been, and provided also you have your Aunt's and Sisters Consent. I despair of this, and on second thoughts contradict this paragraph.

More of the black lasting is sent, that you may barter it for other necessities.

Your Mama has sold part of her and Mrs. Gordon's tenements here, purposes to sell the rest beginning of next month, having got her Sisters Power for that Purpose, and after that seems bent to go and join her Sister in Edinburgh. I have not the least desire to stir, but shall stay and take my Chance, some where on this side of the water, but not in this Expensive place, Halifax. Let this explain the Contradiction of the foregoing paragraph by

Your affectionate Father.

. June 13th, 1780.

Account of articles sent by Mr. Beane's Cartel to Miss Betsey Murray in Boston. — viz. —

Everlasting 4 yards, Binding 1 piece, Nankeen $4\frac{7}{8}$ yds. Of Gingham, 2 gown patterns. 2 pair red Shoes from Æ. C.¹ for the Boys Jack and Ralph, a parcel from Æ. C. to Mrs. Brigden, 1 pair silk shoes and some flowers from Mrs. Casey to E. M. and D. F., 2 gauze handkerchiefs and 2 feathers by J. M. as ordered, Gutheries Geographical Grammar . . . , Lock on education, a parcel of dark cotton for a gown A. E. C. to Mrs. Forbes, 1 pair holl'd gloves, a muslin handkerchief and 1 pair — from Mrs. M. to Sister Inman.

4 muslin handker^s Mrs M. to D. F. & E. M.

21 p-s Wire and an old gown Mrs. M. to E. M.,

5 childrens books Mrs M. for the boys Jack & —.

¹ A. & E. Cummings ?

August 2d, 1780.

There are now sent in the Cartel with 5 pieces of linen directed by my hand with . . . on the linen, and with pen and ink on the b——, 1 p's 25 yds. for Sister Inman, 1 p's 25 yds. at 3/ Currency for Miss Peggy McNeill, 2 p-s 48 yds. for Daughters Forbes and E. M., 1 pr. 25 yds. for the boys Ralph and Jack, 1 lb. thread, 1 p-s Everlasting 30 yds., 2 p-s tape binding, 1 lb. white Nuns thread, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. finer Ditto, 1 lb. black thread (not sent).

His daughters' interests were ever uppermost in his mind. In the upheaved state of the country Mrs. Forbes's return to St. Augustine was practically an impossibility, though the subject of the journey was occasionally discussed, as in the next letter from Mr. Murray.

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY FORBES AND ELIZABETH MURRAY.

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, Sept. 20th, 1780.

MY DEAR CHILDREN, — I had the pleasure two days ago of receiving by the Cartel, which returns with this my D. F.'s letters of the 15th and 24th past; but [neither] the Letter by Penobscot nor Mrs. Powell's Letters have yet made their Appearance. I had two Letters from Polly indeed, the latest of the 8th May at Portsmouth where she was attending her Sister's Embarkation. These I mentioned in my last. Anne's misfortune in being taken would be in a great

measure compensated to her by an Interview with her friends in New England. But to turn to what now concerns you more nearly, your Connexions in St. Augustine. Of them we have very favourable Accounts, both from Major Sheriff, whom we as well as you have seen, and from Capt. Haw—— of the Brig John and Mary, lately retaken and brought hither, who left Mr. F—— and son well on the 10th of last month. It might have been practicable for him and me, had we been very desirous of keeping up a Correspondence, to have exchanged some tho not many Letters by way of New York and even by London. For this omission your Pa, having had the least to do, is the most to blame. He, J. F., perplexed with much Business and much Company, may more readily be excused. In the scarcity of your letters from him, the inclosed though of an old date may not be unacceptable. I shall write him soon by way of New York, and recommend it to the care of Dr. Johnston in Georgia, in which channel you may likewise send your Letters, or by Charlestown from New York. What are my Sentiments of his D. F.'s returning with her Sons soon to him, it is needless for me to say. Her feelings and of course her view of men and things must necessarily be different from those of an old man, who has seen much of the World in several Climates, and upon that Experience forms an Estimate of Life and of the way of Life most likely to procure that health, Tranquillity, Resignation and firmness of mind which have the best chance for happiness or what

comes nearest to it. Besides, he is altogether a stranger to the embarrassments and Difficulties of her present Circumstances, and for that reason also an improper Judge for her line of Conduct.

He does not however think with her that Peace is very Distant. In hope of that he will remain here this Winter at least, if not called off with a better man (Gov^r. H.¹) to a better World. Of such a summons his present good health and Spirits give no other warning than what may be looked for at an advanced Period of Life.

What would you think, should a Peace return your Conductor from St. Augustine in such Strength as to be able (for he would be very willing were it your choice) to convoy you as far as Georgia in your way back. There we could see our Friend Philip and family and going or returning put into Cape Fear to visit Relations and Estate there.

I rejoice to hear you got your poultry supply of linen. If the thread missing was the black, that was not sent.

If you could without much trouble get leave to send us a Barrel of Apples and another to Miss Cuming, they would be very acceptable. These Ladies will tell you that they will be very happy to execute [your] Commands, which they well know are always for good.

Mrs. Mackay's heirs have sold as much of their Estate here as amounts to L.600 Ster, and have left three or four hundred more to dispose of; a season-

¹ Governor Hutchinson died June 3, 1780.

able Supply, the income of which is to be sacredly appropriated to their use. Will not this long Letter and the Inclosed give a claim to Letters from you both, as long and particular as you can with propriety send. Nothing of your Politics is desired — we have enough of that from other hands. . . .

I forgot to tell you that Maryanne, after a rest of 13 years, brought us a fine Mulatto Child (Daughter) last week.

I shall enclose this, your Husband's, and one to Boy Jack, as you direct under cover to our J. I. C. Adieu.

Three years later, to anticipate the due course of events, Mr. Forbes died. Peace had just been declared, and his fortunes were shattered. Hoping to mend them he took passage with his son James for London. While the vessel was detained at New York he wrote to his wife the following letter in explanation of the journey: —

REV. JOHN FORBES TO DOROTHY FORBES.

NEW YORK, 1783.

This morning I intended to have wrote you and, being hurried earlier on board the Packet Duke of Cumberland than I expected, I am disappointed in the opportunity of writing so fully as I wished. I have the pleasure this moment of receiving yours inclosed by one from M^{rs} Inman. I am sorry my letters have not reached you. I, no doubt, have been remiss. I have been sick, lingering and unset-

tled. I meant upon the peace to have paid you a visit at Boston. . . . I had one great stake fixed on the fate of E. Florida; thought my property there secure and Capable of great improvement. Industry and even economy and frugality were not wanting on my part. I had retired to where M^r Cumings formerly lived, made it an elegant, beautiful and convenient situation, & had just expectations, independent of my friends, of providing for my family and of placing the boys in a capacity of raising themselves and giving scope to ambition, and from a fitful provision I had the prospect of being worth not less than 1000 . . . p^r Annum; but this vanishes to perhaps scarce bare subsistence. . . . Upon hearing of the peace, having all my property in Florida, I thought by going immediately to England I might be of use to myself, either by giving a short representation of the importance of retaining the province under the Crown of Great Britain or in finding early what hopes I might entertain of being in a situation of remaining in England with my united family, when the boys might be educated under my eye. With this View I took passage on board this ship for myself & son, and unexpectedly have been long detained and am here by accident, the wind answering for Captain Dashwood's coming here to water, where we have staid a few days. You know I do not like to alter my plan. Had it been possible consistant with the great object I had in view to have seen you, I would. James has lately lost much by my want of health and hurry of business. . . .

I cannot tell you what he or I will do in England, or where we may be fixed. My affairs in Florida I left as if I had been going only 20 miles distance. I could not sell my houses. I did not like to sell my negroes. I cannot live idle, I must do some thing. I hate the West Indies, and I wish to consult you.

I sent you a power of Attorney, and in case it has not reached I will send another. I must soon return to Florida to settle my affairs.¹ My love to the boys

On board the Duke of
Cumberland packet on the way to Sandy Hook.

One more gleam of hope shows itself in the following letter, the last to be printed here from Mr. Murray's pen. He was ready, if by that means a reunion of the family could be accomplished, to begin life anew in His Majesty's Province of Maine. One consideration only makes him pause, — his fear of endangering the interests of his friends in Boston by building up a rival town.

¹ After Mr. Forbes's death, Mrs. Forbes, hoping to recover something from his estate as well as from her father's, made the expedition to Wilmington and St. Augustine spoken of in a previous chapter. Her efforts were fruitless, but Mr. Forbes had owned lands in Florida which had been given over to the Spaniards at the close of the war, and for these lands she did receive compensation afterward from the British government. Her son James finished his education abroad. He afterward came to this country and married. John died unmarried. Ralph Bennet Forbes married Margaret Perkins. See *John Murray Forbes, Life and Recollections*, edited by Sarah Forbes Hughes.

JAMES MURRAY TO DOROTHY FORBES AND ELIZABETH
MURRAY.

HALIFAX, Feb^y. 17th, 1781.

MY DEAR CHILDREN, — About a Week ago I received by way of New York your Letters of the 14th and 15th Nov^r. and Mr. Dowse's of the 8th of that month. That you are all well gives us no small Pleasure. Health, Patience and Resignation will enable you, I hope, to endure with Firmness the Remainder of your Difficulties from the War, which by everything we hear seems to draw near a close. In this View, therefore, I think it will be improper to further teize Mr. E. for the interest due from him.

Fifty pounds lawful money of the late Mr. Hoopers Estate I paid to John Rowe the 25th July 1760, upon his note of hand bearing interest, and that sum, except what Interest he has paid, was left in his hand when I left Boston. The Principal and Interest due I think he might pay to you, giving him security to indemnify him for his note and Mr. Dowse's order joined to mine which shall be annexed to this, or even mine alone may be sufficient.

The Rumour for some time here is that the Province of Main is to be effectually settled under the King's Protection early in the Summer, and that the New England Refugees are to be invited thither. If that is to be the Case, your old Father will, if he lives, make one. You know he delights in forming New Settlements, where Improvements proceed rapidly. Yet he confesses that, in regard to his

Friends in and about Boston, whose Interest if that settlement goes on vigorously will be much affected, in Regard to them, he wishes to forgo that Pleasure, that Boston, after all it has done and suffered, may yet hold up its head as a principal Town in America.

In a former letter you were told that the Two Sisters M. and G.¹ had upon good terms, L.800 Ster., got quit of their landed Property here. All (except the little Tenement about L.200 value in which we live) the produce thereof has been remitted in bills of exchange for their use.

By Several Letters which have come to light, it appears that the Writers look upon the War as we do, in a dying Condition. One instance of this is the sending for your Cousin Polly, to whom I shall not fail to give notice as early as I can of the Invitation, of which I dare say she will readily accept, having severely regretted or Cause to regret that ever she left America. But who can foresee events?

You have no Cause to apprehend my crossing the Atlantic, be Events as they will: My Ambition is gone to Sleep before me. A Man near Seventy, if in his Senses, *can want but little here below, nor want that little long.* Therefore the withdrawing my Salary for some time past gives me little concern. . . .

Nothing can be done relative to T. H's note to you, till a Peace, or until his Port be quite open. But of this, more when we meet, which I hope will

¹ Mrs. Murray and Mrs. Gordon.

be in a few months, either in the Province of Maine or at Boston. . . .

But the Maine scheme and all others for reunion upon earth were to come to naught. Mr. Murray's health had for some years been precarious. It now failed rapidly, and in the latter part of the year 1781 he died. The following letter from Mrs. Inman, dated Cambridge, July 22, 1782, contains all the particulars that have been preserved : —

“Letters from Halifax to Mr. Greenleaf and Mrs. Bridgen,” she wrote to Dr. John Murray, [said] “that my brother lay on his death-bed and [gave] the particulars of his illness. This account I suppressed and kept the young folks from Town, tho at a gay season. I perswaded them to keep Thanksgiving, Chrisen-Mass, and New Year here, making an excuse that Mrs. Belcher was not able to go abroad. Letters never arrived from Mrs. Murray till February. Happy for them it was near Spring, they were in such a situation that I was afraid they would fall a sacrifice to grief. We kept them moving from place to place with some chearful sympathizing friends. They are now better tho at times very dull. They will ever regret being absent from their Father.”

Mrs. Inman survived her brother only a few years, and these few were sad ones. Her friends were scattered, her means reduced, and her health was undermined. At intervals she thought of repairing to England. “My attachment to this country,” she

wrote, "has been violent, but these times and the death of our much loved Brother has wean'd me in such a measure that I am anxious for the sun to rise and the wind to blow that shall clear me of this once happy shore."

In another letter, written from Providence, September 18, 1783, she says :—

"Had not this cruel war taken place, it would have been in my power to have put my Dear Polly into a state of Independence: the ill consequences of it we have felt in common with thousands on this Continent; from the most exact computation Mr. I—— has lost five thousand pounds sterling and lived a great part of the time in the sugar house with only Jack Marlebor'h for a servant. As we had only fifty pound a year, he was servant enough. As I did not take paper, this was all we could command. As to Intrest, I have received none these nine years, therefore I sold a house as soon as hard money came in play, and remitted you the money. As to my personal expenses they do not amount to fifty pound sterling these nine years; dress I thought needless, as I could neither entertain nor visit, so I took the old method to Clout the auld as the new was dear. . . .

"We are now upon a visit at Providence and stay at Mr. & Mrs. Clark's, where we see your sons every day;¹ by their friendship and attention they

¹ Anne Murray Powell resided in Canada after the Revolution. Her sister Elizabeth, it seems from this letter, was to join her. How many of Dr. John Murray's children were at that time in America

make it an agreeable home to us all. Her Brother is Lient. Governor, and makes this place an agreeable assylum to the distressed Refugees, where their friends assemble from all quarters to see them. The uncommon attention we meet from her connexions convinces us of her attachment to our family. It gives me pleasure to see John so happy. Your son James is doing very well under the Parental care of his Brother who is very fond of him. Robert, who I am much pleased with, we left at Cambridge under the care of Mrs. Forbes, as he had a slight indisposition which rendered the journey improper. We hear he is recovering. Offer my Love to my sister and all the family at Wells and Norwich. Do not be surprised if you see me attended by one of your sons one of these days. I threaten it very seriously; they say I have lost my health and you know I had rather change Climates than remain what they call poorly. What say you my Brother?"

Mrs. Inman never accomplished the projected visit to her brother; her strength was unequal to the journey. On the 25th of May, 1785, with sufficient warning of the end to enable her to close gently her relations with the world, and to distribute

does not appear. James had joined John in Providence, as the next paragraph of the letter indicates, and Robert apparently had lately come over from England. Of the ten or more children six, viz., John, Anne, Robert, Elizabeth, George, and James eventually settled in America. Mary, Charlotte, Helen, and Charles remained in England. Another son, Valentine, who died young, is mentioned in Dr. John Murray's letters.

among those to whom she had always been a generous giver her last remembrance and farewells, she died, to the passionate grief of her nieces and the keen regret of her friends.

In the year 1783 the conclusion of peace brought relief even to the Tories in America. Not so, indeed, to Dr. Murray, who had despairingly written from England: "Poor Britain! How much like Babylon and Carthage in her fall, and how nearly will she resemble them in her fate! The nations around already loll out the tongue, and the owl and the bittern may soon take possession of her palaces."

Elizabeth Murray, in 1785, married Mr. Edward Hutchinson Robbins, who, in 1780, when he was but twenty-two years of age, had been a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts, and who, as Representative and Speaker of the House, as Lieutenant Governor, as member of the Governor's Council, and as Judge of Probate, continued to serve the State in office and out of office as long as he lived. Elizabeth's children¹ were Eliza; Sarah Lydia, who married Judge Howe; Anne Jean,² who married Judge Lyman of Northampton; Mary, who married Paul Joseph Warren Revere, a son of Paul Revere; Edward Hutchinson; James Murray, into whose hands Brush Hill afterwards came; and Catherine.

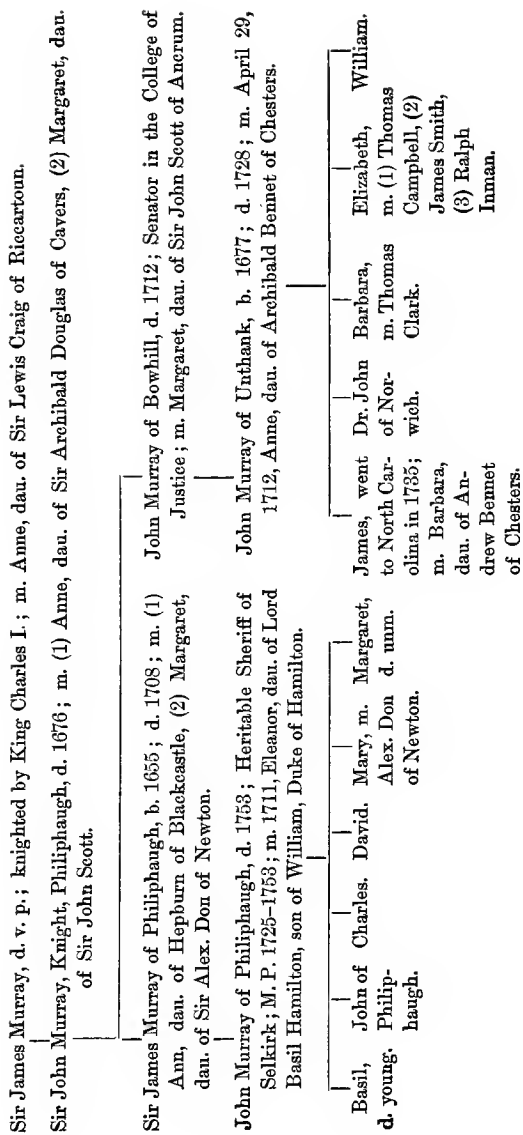
With the death of Dr. John Murray, in 1792, the record of the elder generation closes. But his chil-

¹ See Appendix.

² See *Recollections of my Mother*, by Susan I. Lesley.

dren across the sea and his brother's children accepted philosophically, if not without reservation, the new order, while the descendants comprising the third generation were American to the core. Indeed, two sons of Mary Robbins Revere, grandsons of Paul Revere, and great-grandsons of James Murray, fell on the battlefield in the war for the Union, giving to their country lives derived on the one hand from the Patriot, and on the other from their Tory ancestor.

APPENDIX



I

REMARKS ON THE GENEALOGY OF MURRAYS

BY ARCHIBALD M. HOWE

The accompanying "Genealogy of Murrays"¹ conforms almost exactly to the lineage printed, under the title of "Murray of Philiphaugh," in Burke's "Commoners," vol. iii. pp. 56-59, and Burke's "Landed Gentry," vol. ii. of 1898, p. 1078. T. Craig-Brown, under the same title, in "The History of Selkirkshire, or Chronicles of Ettrick Forest," vol. ii. p. 335, prints the tree, which corresponds in many ways, but gives names of direct line and of male issue only. One or two slight variations in the table contained in the Appendix from Burke's list printed on page 3 of this volume will be observed.

I have no doubt that the identification of John Murray of Bowhill and his issue was made by a competent hand from family manuscript in the possession of James Murray Robbins.

II

GRANDCHILDREN OF JAMES MURRAY

A

Children of Dorothy Murray Forbes and John Forbes, married February 2, 1769.

James Grant, born November 22, 1769.

John Murray, born August 13, 1771.

Ralph Bennet, born June 11, 1773.

¹ See Table.

B

Children of Elizabeth Murray Robbins and Edward Hutchinson Robbins, married November, 1785.

Eliza Robbins, born August 26, 1786.

Sarah Lydia, born December 16, 1787.

Anne Jean, born July 3, 1789.

Edward Hutchinson, born March 24, 1792.

Mary, born October 16, 1794.

James Murray, born June 30, 1796.

Catharine, born March 25, 1800.

III

THE MURRAY FAMILY

BY SARAH LYDIA HOWE

[This account of the early history of the Murray family, Mrs. Howe, daughter of Elizabeth and Edward Hutchinson Robbins, abridged, as her own explanation indicates, from Scott's introduction to "The Song of the Outlaw Murray." The abridgment, interspersed by Mrs. Howe's comments, was prepared as a convenient reference for her family, without any expectation on her part that it would ever be printed. Mrs. Howe died in 1862.]

It is well known that, from the conquest of England by the Normans (1066) to the accession of James IV. of Scotland (1603) to the united kingdoms, a perpetual discord was kept up between the people of both countries respecting the lands of each, and during a great part of nearly five centuries the borderers lived in a fearful state of mutual enmity and aggression. It appears that the family of Murray of Philiphaugh took an active part in these hostilities.

The song of the "Outlaw Murray" was found by Sir Walter Scott among the papers of Mrs. Cockburn, of Edinburgh, a friend of Sir Walter's mother, and the author of that beautiful song, "I've seen the smiling of fortune beguiling."

Sir Walter's prefatory remarks upon the ballad, and his notices of our ancestors, form an admirable commencement of

that brief narrative in which the American branch of the old border race are chronicled. The ballad commemorates a transaction supposed to have taken place betwixt a Scottish monarch and an ancestor of the ancient family of Murray of Philiphaugh in Selkirkshire.

“It is certain that during the civil wars between Bruce and Baliol, the family of Philiphaugh existed and was powerful, for their ancestor, Archibald de Moravia, subscribed the oath of fealty to Edward I., 1296. It is, therefore, not unlikely that residing in a wild and frontier country, they may have, at one period or other during these commotions, refused allegiance to the feeble monarch of the day, and thus have extorted from him some grant of territory or jurisdiction. It is also certain that by a charter from James IV. dated November 30, 1509, John Murray is vested with the dignity of heritable sheriff of Ettrick Forest, an office held by his descendants till the final abolition of such jurisdiction, by 28th Geo. II. cap. 23.”

The name Moravia, first contracted to Moray, then altered to Murray, was originally Norman, which accounts for the ready allegiance to the English king.

The ballad connects the refusal of allegiance with the grant of the sheriffalty, but Sir Walter supposes the former event to have been considerably anterior to the latter ; but that the bard, “willing to pay his court to the family,” combined the two as in direct connection. He also supposes that Murray of 1509 was a man of great energy of character, and that James IV. was willing to conciliate him that he might engage his services to keep peace on the border. James had married the Princess Margaret, a daughter of Henry VII. of England. Ettrick Forest was claimed by the Scottish monarch as part of the crown lands, and given as part of her jointure to his queen. He was, therefore, desirous that Murray should be engaged in his interest as a defender of the family property. “In order to accomplish this object it was natural for him, according to the policy of his predecessors, to invest one great family with the power of keeping order among the rest. It is even probable that the Philiphaugh family may have had claims upon part of the lordship of Ettrick Forest, which lay intermingled with their own extensive possessions. . . .

"It is farther probable that the Murrays, like other border clans, were in a very lawless state, and held their lands merely by occupancy, without any feudal right [without any charter from the king of either country]. Indeed, the lands of the various proprietors in Ettrick Forest (being a royal demesne) were held by the possessors, not in property, but as the . . . tenants of the crown ; and it is only about one hundred and fifty years [this written about 1800] since they obtained charters. This state of possession naturally led to a confusion of rights and claims. The kings of Scotland were often reduced to the humiliating necessity of compromising such matters with their rebellious subjects."

Sir Walter Scott supposes the scene of the ballad to have been "Hangingshaw, the seat of the Philiphaugh family." "The merit of this beautiful old tale," he says, "it is thought, will be fully acknowledged. It has been for ages a popular song in Selkirkshire." One of his friends, Mr. Plummer, the sheriff-depute of Selkirkshire, assured him that he remembered the insignia of the unicorns so often mentioned in the ballad upon the old tower of Hangingshaw. This tower has been demolished. "It stood in a romantic and solitary situation on the classical banks of the Yarrow. When the mountains around Hangingshaw were covered with the wild copse which constituted a Scottish forest, a more secure stronghold for an outlawed baron can hardly be imagined." See in the ballad the line,

"O! gin it stands not pleasantlie !"

The tradition of Ettrick Forest describes the outlaw Murray as a man of prodigious strength, and that he was at length slain by Buccleuch, or some of his clan, on a little mount covered with fir-trees near Newark Castle. A varying tradition relates that the fatal arrow was shot by Scott of Haining from a ruined cottage on the opposite side of Yarrow. There were extant in the latter part of the last century some verses on his death.

Sir Walter composed the ballad from various recitations, and it is to me an affecting circumstance that two stanzas of it were repeated to him by that ill-fated traveler Mungo Park, from whose mind the legendary love of his country was never

eradicated. "The arms of the Philiphaugh family are said to allude to their outlawed state. They are those of a huntsman, and are blazoned thus: Argent, a hunting horn sable, stringed and garnished gules, on a chief azure, three stars of the first. Crest, a demi-forester, winding his horn proper. Motto: *Hinc usque superna venabor.*"

These arms are engraved upon two pieces of plate formerly¹ in possession of Mrs. S. L. Howe, Cambridge, Massachusetts. This lady was lineally descended from the Philiphaugh family, her great-grandfather, Mr. John Murray, having been a younger brother of that house.² His son, James Murray, Esq., the grandfather of Mrs. Howe, bequeathed the silver vessels to his daughter, the late Mrs. Elizabeth Robbins.

IV

ROBERT BENNET

[From Jeffrey's History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire, vol. ii. p. 366.]

Robert Bennet . . . was a remarkable man in his day. He was a stern Presbyterian; and for maintaining his principles was repeatedly fined and imprisoned. In 1662 he was forced to pay 1200 pounds before he could get the benefit of the act of indemnity. His offense was desertion of his parish church and refusing to attend the conforming clergymen. In 1670 he attended the open-air ministrations of John Blackadder and others. In 1676 he was charged with being at a conventicle held at Selkirk Common, and failing to appear before the Privy Council he was outlawed and his goods confiscated. On his being apprehended some time after and carried before the Privy Council the charges were referred to his oath and on his refusing to swear he was sentenced to be carried to the Bars and imprisoned until further orders. He was, however, detained in Edinburgh Tollbooth and again taken before the Council, charged with attending field conventicles at which Welsh,

¹ Now in possession of Archibald M. Howe and James Murray Howe.

² There is a slight error here. It was the father of Mrs. Howe's great-grandfather who was the younger brother of that house.

Blackadder, and others preached, and also harboring and resetting in his own house Welsh and others. On being examined he admitted the charges, but refused to refrain from attending conventicles or to attend his own parish church. For his contumacy he was fined in 4000 merks and ordained to be imprisoned in the Bars till the fine was paid. In February, 1678, a petition was presented by Mrs. Bennet praying that her husband might be liberated from prison to attend upon her death-bed. Interest having been made with the Duke of Lauderdale and the Bishop, leave was granted him to go to Chesters till 18th of March following, on which day he was to reënter the Bars under penalty of 4000 merks. In 1680 he was again imprisoned in the Bars because he would not forbear attending Covenanting preachers. After suffering imprisonment for eleven months he was liberated upon paying 1000 merks. Bennet was alive in 1701. His descendants continued to possess the manor for four succeeding generations.¹

V

DR. JOHN MURRAY OF NORWICH

[Extracts from "A General History of the County of Norfolk," Norwich, 1829, vol. ii. p. 1204, *et seq.* Published anonymously, but a note in the British Museum copy gives John Chambers as author.¹]

John Murray, M. D., the founder of the Scot's Society, etc. in Norwich, resided for a few years in this parish (i. e. St. Simon and Jude). This amicable philanthropist was a native of Scotland, and born January 29, 1720, at Unthank, in Eskdale; he served for many years as a surgeon in His Majesty's Navy, but having received his diploma from Edinburgh, retired from the service upon half pay, and in 1751 settled at Wells in this county, where he practiced as a physician till 1768, when he removed to this city (Norwich). Here he distinguished himself by encouraging every charitable pursuit, and was one of the first and most zealous promoters of the Norfolk

¹ The extracts were made by F. B. Forbes, from the copy in the British Museum, in 1885.

and Norwich hospital, which he afterwards attended with the utmost perseverance and assiduity, until within a short time of his death, when increasing infirmities obliged him to relinquish an employment so congenial to his humane and benevolent disposition. He also founded the Scot's Society in Norwich,¹ to assist those of his distressed countrymen who could claim no parish relief, and as it flourished beyond his hopes, through the patronage of the Earl of Rosebery, Sir William Jerningham, and various other subscribers, he extended the benefit of the society to foreigners of all nations. Dr. Murray died in the parish of St. Andrew, September 26, 1792, and was buried in Wells churchyard, where on a square column is the following inscription : —

East Side : I. M. M. D. Hic situs est Pater, Filius, Frater, omnium amicus. Hostes caetera dicant.

Love ye the stranger.

Be ye wise as Serpents and harmless as Doves.

West Side : John Murray, M. D., died September 26, 1792. Aged 71 years : a man universally beloved, and eminently distinguished by his domestic virtues, unaffected piety, professional abilities, and extensive benevolence, to whose memory this column is erected by his affectionate widow and children.

North Side : Sacred to the memory of Mary Murray aged

¹ The Scot's Society in Norwich was founded November 30, 1775, in the following manner. It had been customary for the natives of Scotland residing in this city to celebrate the feast of St. Andrew with some degree of cheerfulness : at the breaking up of one of these anniversary meetings, the company being pretty large, an overplus of 3s/6d was found in the hands of Dr. Murray, who collected the reckoning and who proposed making it a fund for the purpose mentioned above : to this sum 10s were added, being money put under a hat, as proposed by the collector, to relieve any Scotchman who might come to Norwich in distress, and might need the whole or any part of this small sum. The year passed without any claim being made, and the same idea being pursued at the next anniversary, 1775, when the sum collected amounted to upwards of £3, the society was regularly formed, and in 1784 altered its name to that of "The Society of Universal Good Will." After the death of Dr. Murray the society gradually declined, and what remained of its funds was transferred with the consent of its patrons to the Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress and other institutions of a similar nature in London.

eighty-eight. Widow of the late Dr. John Murray. After an exemplary fulfillment of the various duties of a wife, a mother, and of a pious Christian, her meek spirit was called to receive the reward of the righteous, on the 7th March, 1819.

South Side : In the same grave with those of his father, are deposited the remains of Thomas Archibald Murray, M. D., late of London, who in all respects exemplified the character of his revered parent. Cut off in the flower of his youth, he yet fulfilled the duties of a long life. His task accomplished, his pure spirit was summoned home, to receive the reward of piety and virtue, on the 16th day of March, 1802, in the 28th year of his age.

Dr. Murray was the author of works on "The Gradual Abolition of Slavery," on the "Medical Department of the Navy," and "Tracts relating to the Scot's Society in Norwich," etc.

VI

LETTER FROM MARY MURRAY TO MRS. BARNES

NORWICH, October 10th, 1792.

I will not tell you in the language of complaint that I have *lost* the best and most indulgent of Fathers, the kindest and most affectionate of Friends — let me rather endeavor to inform you my Dear Aunt, with the composure of a Christian that my beloved Parent was released from his sufferings on the 26th of last month and I trust is in possession of that high reward allotted to those who by patient continuance in well doing seek for Glory and Honor, and Immortality — yet the weakness of my nature strives with that firm faith which his saint like spirit labored to implant in my mind and till this evening I have felt myself unequal to the task of retracing scenes which can never be blotted from my memory, and this is the first voluntary product of my pen since the miserable day on which I last addressed you. Prepared as we ought to have been for the event, I was harassed beyond description on its approach. The night of the 24th I passed at the bed-side of my Father, whose senses were then on the verge of departure, and till near two in

the morning he gave manifest tokens of pain ; a little interval of ease was succeeded by total insensibility and in that state he continued till between three and four the next morning when he resigned his guileless spirit into the hands of his Creator without a groan. My Dear Mother and all her Children took their final leave some hours before : my Aunt and my beloved friend supplied our place and Charles was called before the scene was closed. I cannot regret my absence at the time — I had staid by him to the last moment that it was possible to be of use or comfort to him and the hour of trial was at hand which called for a renovation of strength and spirits. My *only* Parent was now to be comforted ; at first she shed no tears but the sight of her children produced the salutary shower which relieved her and I am truly thankful that I can now add that she is tolerably well, since the last duties were performed and that the mournful preparation for them seemed to excite her to exertions of which a less perfect affection would have been incapable. It was my Father's *wish* to be buried with his Children at Wells, and my Brothers were earnest that all his wishes should be fulfilled as far as their power could extend. On the morning of the 30th the whole family met at breakfast and after bidding my Mother a solemn farewell we began our melancholy journey. My Aunt whom my Father had requested to *see* him interred, my Sister Powell and Eliza, Charles, Tom and the first pledge of his love as he used tenderly to call me, followed the Hearse in a Mourning Coach — James the 2d, Mr. Brownes William and Grant on horseback. We passed through many Villages where my Father was known and loved, and the manners of the people were in unison with our feelings, silent and dejected. About three miles from Wells we were met by some friends and before we reached the Town, great part of its inhabitants joined the mournful procession. We stopt at the Church gate about 5 o'clock — there my Uncle met us and the whole of the Ceremony was performed in a manner equal to our most sanguine wishes. The blessings of the poor, and the affectionate respect of his equals followed my dearest Father to his grave, while the tear of sympathy alleviated the sorrow of his children and friends. The next morning Mrs. Powell and myself paid our

last visit to the earthly repository of our Father and I hope while I remain in this part of the world to be indulged with an annual journey to the place of my nativity endeared to *me* by the reflection that more than 20 years of absence had not deprived us of its esteem. On our return home we found my Mother better than we could have supposed. Charlotte,¹ Helen and our good friends the Miss Brittinghams had staid with her in our absence by turns. My own feelings on this occasion I cannot describe, nor do I wish you to conceive them. We are yet busy and unsettled; much is to be done, after all is over little will remain but *that* little, I have reason to believe will be *wholly* devoted to my Mother — at least it is my fervent wish and earnest desire that it should *be* so, and I have not a doubt, nay I am certain of the concurrence of all who have any right to interfere in the business. My sister has been busied in fitting her two eldest Boys for school; they left us on Monday. Helen goes in a few days. My Aunt *has* left us so we are on the reduced or reducing system. Mrs. P. hopes you will excuse her a little longer — for the reasons I have alledged and for the present you must, my Dear Aunt, extend your indulgence to me, for I am sensible this letter is too prolix, too particular — yet as you have wandered with me in the labyrinth of perplexities for so long a time I could not avoid wishing for your society a little longer, till we find the friendly clue which is to conduct us to a peaceful Home. If you wish to have a transcript of my dear Fathers character from the Public Papers, my next letter shall inclose it to you and in this I must mention that he has left no Will, but in his memorandum Book was found a request that “as soon as might be convenient to the Minister of the Parish, and his own family, he desired a Plain Practical Sermon might be preached at the Parish Church from the third verse of the 12th Chapter of Daniel” — frequently would he have this chapter read to him, and with a voice softened by humility would say “I hope I have turned many to righteousness, and when the last comes shall be permitted to *stand in my place*.” A few days before my Father’s

¹ Dr. Murray’s daughter, afterwards Mrs. Brown, and author of “Judah’s Lion,” a religious work once widely read.

departure, he was sufficiently sensible to ask me to read and pray by him. You will believe I was not slow to obey him, and could you but have seen him at the moment when he closed his expressive eyes and lifted his trembling hands to Heaven, you would have acknowledged that he was fitted for the society of just men made *perfect*. Oh, may the Almighty look down with equal favor upon us to lead us in the path of everlasting life there if needful to the perfection of happiness, we shall all *know* each other, or find every human tie superceded by affection of a superior kind!

[*October*] 11th.

My spirits were so exhausted last night that I quitted you, my Dear Aunt, rather abruptly and even now cannot sufficiently collect my ideas to enter upon less interesting subjects. Every day seems to realize the frightful dream in which I have been so long engaged, and even the hurry of business cannot divest my mind of painful recollections, but a truce with complainings. My next will I hope be less gloomy, for I shall continue these narrations from time to time because you say they amuse you and because I feel myself gratified by the tender interest you take in what concerns us. James is a kind and attentive Brother — he seems disposed to make us all comfortable and my Mother feels infinite consolation in his presence. The children engage her attention and are much attached to her, but she has some complaints which make me fear her constitution has received material injury and this is not a season for her to try change of air and scene. Anne's health seems quite established. Elizabeth's is not so good and poor Tom is just recovering from the shock his Father's death occasioned. He was drooping many days before but I hope a short time will restore his pristine strength. We are going to send him into the Country; it is now too late for him to go to Edinburgh this year. We have all had a loss but that he sustains is the most serious and severe, however, I hope his Brothers will complete his education according to the wishes of the best of Men and Fathers. In speaking of the family I must not omit mentioning my chief comfort and support. He is well and always a welcome guest among us; perhaps Ann when she writes will

give you her opinion of him and if I may judge from her conduct, she feels prejudiced in his favor. He is quite charmed with her graceful person and pleasing manners, and I look forward to a less uncomfortable winter than my former fears had anticipated.

God bless you my dear Friends. Accept the united regards of this family and believe me,

Your dutiful and affectionate Niece

M. MURRAY.

VII

BONDS GIVEN BY MRS. INMAN TO JOHN AND RALPH FORBES

To John Forbes, son of Dorothy Forbes, now resident in Cambridge, in the County of Middlesex Greeting: as an encouragement to you, to induce on your part a due attention to your studies during your continuance at Harvard Colledge, a proper observance of the rules and regulations prescribed for the government of said Colledge, and to excite in you a suitable emulation to such a universal deportment as well to the government of said Colledge as to all to whom you shall in any relation stand as shall at all times be consonant to your rank and character, I, Elizabeth Inman of Cambridge, in the County of Middlesex, wife of Ralph Inman of the same Cambridge, Esquire, do hereby on my part for myself, my heirs executors and administrators promise and engage to and with you the said John Forbes that if you shall during your continuance at and membership of said Colledge conduct yourself in such manner as to receive the honors of said Colledge by having the degree of Bachelor of arts conferred on you and in every respect so as to meet the approbation of your mother the said Dorothy Forbes and of your aunt Miss Elizabeth Murray then and in such case whensoever the said Dorothy and Elizabeth after your being so graduated shall in any express manner signify their said approbation of your conduct and deportment, immediately thereupon I will pay or cause to be paid to you the said John Forbes whether of full age or not the sum of one hundred and thirty-three pounds and six shillings and eight pence lawful silver

money to your own absolute use the same not to be subject to the controul or management of any one.

In witness whereof I the said Elizabeth have hereunto set mine hand and seal this twelvth day^s of July in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

ELIZ: INMAN.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of
EDWARD H. ROBBINS.

A second bond, in substantially the same terms, was given by Mrs. Inman to Ralph Forbes.

VIII

DOROTHY FORBES

Although Mr. Murray speaks so disparagingly of his children's and nieces' habits of industry and occupation, it is probably an exaggeration of the usual love of diversion which possesses all young people, under twenty years of age, and which it would be a pity to be without. Certainly it was not true of Dorothy, who from her childhood was a most devoted and disinterested worker and helper, equal to any emergency. She was as industrious as she was vivacious. I recall the beautiful recollections my mother and aunt gave of her after she became an almost helpless invalid from rheumatic gout. They were little girls, and for some three or four years were employed to carry her meals to her room, and sit by her while she ate them. They described her cheerful spirit, in the midst of pain — her love of the best books, from which she culled passages to read to them, and from which all three gathered much instruction, and discussed either with serious zest or with merriment. In the book, "Recollections of my Mother," on the 438th page, is an extract from a letter which Mrs. Lyman wrote to her daughter in China, in which is a paragraph on her Aunt Forbes's fine influence on her nieces.

S. I. L.

IX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF HON. JAMES MURRAY
ROBBINS

BY HON. ROGER WOLCOTT

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James Murray Robbins was born and died in the town of Milton. In him were united many strains of the old Puritan blood of the early migrations to the Colony. It was perhaps this inheritance which constrained him and many of his ancestors to be useful and prominent in town and state affairs, and which tended also to make his mind conservative of the old methods and ideas when called upon to meet new questions which the later years brought for solution.

His first ancestor bearing the name of Robbins in America was Richard, who, with his wife Rebecca, established himself on the southerly side of Charles River, in Cambridge.

The third son of Richard was Nathaniel, — born, as was his father, in Scotland, — who married Mary Brazier, and lies in the Old Cambridge burying-ground. His oldest son, Nathaniel, was born Feb. 28, 1678, and married Hannah, daughter of William Chandler, of Andover, and Mary Dane.

Their third son, born Aug. 11, 1703, was Thomas Robbins, whose second son, by his first wife, Ruth Johnson, was Nathaniel, born April 17, 1726 (H. U. 1747). After his graduation he pursued at Cambridge the study of theology, and in 1751 was ordained minister of the church in Milton, in which office he died May 19, 1795. During this long pastorate of forty-four years, covering the period of the war of the Revolution, he performed his duties both as minister and as citizen with zeal and self-devotion. His sympathy and support were given to the popular cause, and in 1788 he represented the town in the convention which adopted the Federal Constitution. A good if not brilliant preacher, a healer of strife whether between churches or individuals, a man of sagacity and penetration, possessed of "a very accurate acquaintance with human nature," "he carried his amiable quality so far that even when those

were mentioned who were blasted and flagitious, it was his custom to suggest an extenuation if possible." From contemporary evidence, too, we are assured that "in prayer he was remarkable for copiousness and facility of expression, and at funerals in particular he was admired for a variety of pathetic sentiments pertinent to every person immediately concerned, and to each incident that occurred." His wife was Elizabeth, youngest child of the Hon. Edward Hutchinson, and Lydia, daughter of the Hon. John Foster, who was a leading merchant and for many years Councillor.

Edward Hutchinson came of a distinguished family, was for many years Judge of Probate for Suffolk County, and was Treasurer of Harvard College from 1726 until his death in 1752. He was uncle of Thomas Hutchinson, who has received undeserved opprobrium as the last royal governor of the Province. His father, Elisha Hutchinson, Representative, Assistant, and Councillor, was the son of Colonel Edward Hutchinson, who met his death in an ambuscade in King Philip's War. Colonel Hutchinson was the son of William Hutchinson and his more famous wife, Ann Marbury, whose heretical theology caused her banishment by the austere Puritanism of the Bay Colony, and who finally fell a victim, as did her son, to the tomahawk of the savage.

The oldest son of the Rev. Nathaniel and Elizabeth Robbins was Edward Hutchinson Robbins, born Feb. 19, 1758 (H. U. 1775). After admission to the bar in 1779 he established himself in Milton, and entered upon a long career of useful and honorable service to his native town and to the State. When only twenty-one years of age he was elected a delegate to the convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts, being the youngest member of that distinguished body. For fourteen years he represented the town of Milton in the Legislature, and for nine years he occupied the Speaker's chair. For the performance of the duties of this position he was exceptionally qualified both by temperament and attainments. In 1795 he was appointed chairman of a commission to buy the necessary land and erect a new State House, the vote creating the commission also authorizing the sale of the Province House

and the release to the town of Boston of the State's interest in the Old State House. For ninety years the structure then erected has well sustained the test of changing taste. In 1796 he was elected by the House of Representatives to the United States Senate; but in this choice the other branch of the Legislature failed to concur, on the ground that the commercial interests of the State should be represented by a merchant rather than by a lawyer, and Mr. Goodhue, of Salem, was finally elected by the two Houses. For four years he filled the office of Lieutenant-Governor during the official term of Governor Strong. He was for seventeen years Judge of Probate for Norfolk County, and throughout his long and useful life his services were in constant requisition, both in public and private station; for his integrity and sound judgment rendered them of great value. He early became deeply interested in the purchase and settlement of the Commonwealth lands in Maine, and for more than forty years made annual visits to the region near Passamaquoddy. The profit from these investments did not accrue in his lifetime; but his name is perpetuated in the town of Robbinston on the St. Croix River, which attained considerable importance as a shipbuilding and trading port, until the decline of this industry checked the town's growth and converted its population from a seafaring to an agricultural community.

In November, 1785, he married Miss Elizabeth Murray, daughter of the Hon. James Murray and Barbara Bennet. Mr. Murray emigrated from Philiphaugh, Scotland, where his grandfather was hereditary sheriff of Selkirk, to North Carolina, and established himself as a planter on the Cape Fear River. He here became a member of the Council of that Province; but in 1765, having lost his wife and several children, he removed to Boston with his two surviving daughters, who afterwards became Mrs. John Forbes and Mrs. E. H. Robbins.

Mr. Murray's sister was the wife of James Smith, whose sugar-house stood next below Brattle Street Church, and was occupied as barracks by Colonel Dalrymple's regiment, whence Captain Preston's company marched to the Boston Massacre. After the death of Mr. Smith his widow gave to her two nieces

the estate on Brush Hill, in Milton, where, soon after 1734, Mr. Smith had built the house in which the subject of this memoir was to pass the greater part of his life. Edward Hutchinson Robbins died in Boston, Dec. 29, 1829, and was deeply mourned by his friends and neighbors.

James Murray Robbins, his sixth child, was born June 30, 1796, in the old Gooch house on Milton Hill. When he was nine years old his father removed from Milton Hill to Brush Hill, within the same town, making his residence in the Smith house, which had become the property of his wife; and here, eighty years later, the son died. He received his school education at the Milton Academy, which his father had been largely instrumental in founding, and of whose board of trustees the father and son filled the office of president for seventy-six years. At the age of fifteen he entered the counting-room of the prominent Boston merchants, James and Thomas Handasyd Perkins, and there acquired a thorough training in business habits.

But the time was not propitious for commercial enterprise or success; the widespread stagnation of business, consequent upon the blockade maintained by the British fleet, and the hardly less oppressive acts of our own government, seemed to bar the way to entering upon the career of a merchant. In 1814 his cousin, John Murray Forbes, who was consul-general at Hamburg, invited him to accept official employment at the consulate; and it is not difficult to imagine how gladly the boy of eighteen must have exchanged the round of dull and apathetic duty in the counting-room for the excitement of the voyage and of foreign travel.

Nor was his journey to Hamburg devoid of incident. Passage was taken in a Swedish brig to sail from New York; and Mr. Robbins reached that city by the way of Albany, passing down the Hudson by steamer. While awaiting the sailing of the brig, he gave two days of volunteer service in throwing up intrenchments on Brooklyn Heights. The brig, after many delays, put to sea, but when off Block Island was captured by a British cruiser, and taken to Gardiner's Bay, where was the rendezvous of the squadron. On the ground that the

vessel was owned in Connecticut, the admiral adjudged her to be lawful prize, and, placing her under command of a prize-officer, ordered him to report at Plymouth, England. Mr. Robbins was the only American on board, and was therefore, unlike the others, made prisoner of war. On reaching the English port, however, his extreme youth, and, it is said, the kindly interest of some ladies who had been his fellow-passengers, interceded in his behalf, and he was released. It must be admitted that a considerable experience had been crowded into a brief time for the lad who had so recently left the provincial and beleaguered town of Boston.

On reaching London, the anxiety and perhaps suffering of the voyage were doubtless succeeded by admiration and wonder ; for the great metropolis was celebrating with pageant and fête and every demonstration of popular rejoicing the return of European peace, and the relief which it brought from the intolerable burdens of almost universal war.

But the adventures which were to attend his journey to Hamburg were not yet ended. The vessel in which he soon again embarked in London for his destination went ashore in a dense fog at the mouth of the Elbe. The wind was strong, and the danger of the vessel going to pieces was great ; but after several hours of exposure the passengers and crew succeeded in effecting a landing, saving, however, from the wreck only the clothing they wore. They were upon an island, and found shelter in the light-house, until, some days after, a boat transported them to the mainland. After such adventures, and in a destitute condition, did Mr. Robbins at length reach Hamburg, where the warm greeting of his kinsman, Mr. Forbes, must have been not unwelcome to him. He at once set himself resolutely to learn the German language, entering for this purpose the family of a country clergyman, and eventually acquired a rare accuracy and facility both of expression and pronunciation.

In 1815 Mr. Forbes was summoned from his post of duty by Mr. John Quincy Adams for conference in regard to the negotiation of commercial treaties with foreign powers, and Mr. Robbins was left in charge of the consulate with the title of

vice-consul. The peace was of short duration. The news of Napoleon's escape from Elba electrified Europe, and the weeks of fevered excitement which followed culminated at Waterloo. Soon the streets of Hamburg echoed the tread of Blücher's veterans; and at a civic banquet given to the victor, to which the representatives of all foreign governments were invited, the boy of nineteen represented the United States. After Mr. Forbes's return to Hamburg, Mr. Robbins by his orders acted for some time as consul at Elsinore, — a residence which could not have been barren of vivid and lasting impressions.

Mr. Forbes was subsequently transferred to Rio Janeiro; and Mr. Robbins, then about twenty-one, returned to Boston. In three years he had indeed seen much, had breathed the educating atmosphere of stirring events, and had learned the important lesson of self-reliance.

For two years he made voyages as supercargo to the West Indies and the Baltic in the interest of his old employers, and then entered into a partnership with his elder brother, Edward Hutchinson Robbins, for the manufacture and sale of woolen goods. In the commercial panic of 1829 the firm went down in the prevalent ruin, and Mr. Robbins seems then to have resolved never to expose himself to a recurrence of like ill-fortune. He did not again engage in business on his own account; but his peculiar fitness, acquired through the varied experience of these past years, led to his appointment by some of the leading woolen manufacturers of New England as agent for the purchase of wool in Germany. This transferred him again to the scene of his former official duties; and there he now spent a year and a half, for which he was liberally compensated.

Before his departure he had, with the help of a guide, made a careful and extended survey of a large part of the almost untrodden wilderness of Maine, led thereto by his father's large interests in the pine forests of Passamaquoddy; and, impressed by the future importance of this product, he had himself secured, by purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a tract of 20,000 acres near the Schoodic Lakes. On his return from Germany in 1834,— although the days had

not yet come of the great speculation in Maine lands, which was to prove so disastrous to many, — he was able to sell this land at a very large advance upon the purchase money.

In the same year he married Frances Mary Harris, daughter of Abel Harris, of Portsmouth, and Rooksby Coffin, daughter of William Coffin, of Boston, a cousin of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin. They had no children ; but the marriage proved a most happy one, and Mrs. Robbins's death in 1870 was a deep and enduring grief to him.

The sale of his Maine estates was a most fortunate transaction, for it furnished the means of realizing his long-cherished wish of becoming the sole owner of the old homestead on Brush Hill, where much of his boyhood had been passed, and which was endeared to him not more by its rare beauty of location than by the memory of the large family circle which had gathered about its hearthstone, and of the long list of guests — many of them the distinguished men of the time — whom his father's almost lavish hospitality had there brought together. This was his home during the remainder of his life. His love for it was a passion. It forbade change, which in his eyes could never seem improvement. The old buildings, the fences and walls, were to remain as they were in his boyhood. The old trees, many of them imported elms, generously planted by former generations, — nay, their very saplings, — should be untouched by the axe so long as he should live ; and the fine fringe of trees which everywhere skirts the lichen-covered stone walls of the estate attests his vigilant guardianship. The extensive view from the house, including the distant blue of the harbor, the twin church spires, the wooded range of the Blue Hills, and the broad and verdant meadows, was always a source of keen enjoyment to him.

Once, however, his treasured possessions were threatened by a great danger, which roused him to the fullest activity in their defense. The new and vigorous town of Hyde Park, spreading with the rapid growth of a manufacturing community, sought the authority of the Legislature to add to its territory by annexing a portion of Milton, including Mr. Robbins's estate. His energetic opposition to this project and his untir-

ing efforts to defeat it were successful. In the town of Milton he had been born, and in the town of Milton he would die.

This was not the only service he rendered to the town of his birth, for which his affection was always so strong. In 1837 and again in 1861 he represented Milton in the General Court, and in 1842 was one of the senators from Norfolk County. He was frequently called to serve upon committees whenever the interests of the town were involved or important action was to be taken, and his judgment was always considered to carry much weight and influence. Originally a Whig, he joined the Republican party at its formation, and thereafter consistently acted with it, although not without criticism of some of its most important tendencies and measures. His wife had long shared the opinions and counsels of the anti-slavery leaders; and in him was awakened a sense of indignant resentment by the assault upon Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber. In the demonstration made by the citizens of Boston upon Mr. Sumner's return, Mr. Robbins bore a prominent part.

While a young man he developed a strong taste for historical and antiquarian research, and throughout life this taste directed much of his reading and thought. He made a careful and leisurely exploration of Dorsetshire, England, whence came so many of the first settlers of Massachusetts Bay, and made his mind a storehouse of accurate information touching the families and events which had illustrated the early history of the New England town of Dorchester. When this history was written in 1859, he was the author of the first six chapters. In 1862 he accepted the invitation of the town of Milton to deliver the address at the celebration of its two hundredth year. In this address he traces in much detail the lives of the prominent early and later inhabitants of the town, giving abundant proof of his wide information regarding family history, and of his patience in research and exactness in statement. By vote of the town in 1883 he was made chairman of a committee appointed to prepare a history of Milton, and to him were referred the early pages of this work for correction and elucidation. In spite of his great age at this time, his co-laborers in the work

bear willing testimony to the extreme value of the aid thus rendered. In 1860 he was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in this association he found always much interest and enjoyment.

But as the years went on, the naturally conservative tendency of Mr. Robbins's mind led him to withdraw himself in great measure from active participation in the affairs of men. He praised the time that is past, and looked forward with apprehension to the time that is to come. To borrow Mr. Lowell's thought, evolution in his view too often took on its lacking initial, and wore the threatening aspect of revolution. He failed to perceive the logical necessity of social and political change; and as he looked forth upon the passing events of the time, he deemed himself gazing upon the turbulence of the rapids, just above the fateful plunge of the cataract. As he could not stay the current, he sheltered himself more and more within the seclusion of his beautiful estate, and with no trace of bitterness or cynicism devoted himself to the life of a country gentleman, finding pleasure in his acres and venerable trees, reading and studying as his inclination directed, and living in friendly and helpful intercourse with his neighbors.

His bearing and manner were dignified and genial. In his old age his dress and appearance seemed to reflect the unchanging stability and respectable antiquity of his opinions. His figure was sturdy and erect, his features massive, and his smile ready and pleasing. Through judicious management his property was much increased, and he left a large estate.

Until within two years of his death, at the ripe age of eighty-nine years and four months, he retained in a remarkable degree his vigor both of body and mind. He died on Monday, Nov. 2, 1885, in the home he had loved so well, and was buried, as were his father and grandfather, in the cemetery of the town which the three generations had served and honored. With him disappeared the family name, which for one hundred and thirty-five years had been held in respect and affection by his fellow townsmen.

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